



Richard Horton Smith.



Division

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Bampton lectures

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THE
ATONING WORK OF CHRIST,
VIEWED IN RELATION TO SOME
CURRENT THEORIES,
IN EIGHT SERMONS,

PREACHED BEFORE
THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD,
IN THE YEAR MDCCCLIII.

AT THE LECTURE FOUNDED BY
THE LATE REV. JOHN BAMPTON, M.A.
CANON OF SALISBURY.

BY
WILLIAM THOMSON, M.A.

FELLOW AND TUTOR OF QUEEN'S COLLEGE.

OXFORD:

PRINTED BY J. WRIGHT, PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY,
FOR
LONGMAN, BROWN, GREEN AND LONGMANS,
PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON.

M.DCCC.LIII.

EXTRACT
FROM
THE LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT
OF THE
REV. JOHN BAMPTON,
CANON OF SALISBURY.

—— “I give and bequeath my Lands and Estates to
“ the Chancellor, Masters, and Scholars of the University
“ of Oxford for ever, to have and to hold all and sin-
“ gular the said Lands or Estates upon trust, and to the
“ intents and purposes hereinafter mentioned; that is to
“ say, I will and appoint that the Vice-Chancellor of the
“ University of Oxford for the time being shall take and
“ receive all the rents, issues, and profits thereof, and
“ (after all taxes, reparations, and necessary deductions
“ made) that he pay all the remainder to the endowment
“ of eight Divinity Lecture Sermons, to be established for
“ ever in the said University, and to be performed in the
“ manner following :

“ I direct and appoint, that, upon the first Tuesday in
“ Easter Term, a Lecturer be yearly chosen by the Heads
“ of Colleges only, and by no others, in the room ad-
“ joining to the Printing-House, between the hours of ten
“ in the morning and two in the afternoon, to preach
“ eight Divinity Lecture Sermons, the year following, at
“ St. Mary's in Oxford, between the commencement of the

“ last month in Lent Term, and the end of the third week
“ in Act Term.

“ Also I direct and appoint, that the eight Divinity
“ Lecture Sermons shall be preached upon either of the
“ following Subjects—to confirm and establish the Christ-
“ ian Faith, and to confute all heretics and schismatics
“ —upon the divine authority of the holy Scriptures—
“ upon the authority of the writings of the primitive Fa-
“ thers, as to the faith and practice of the primitive Church
“ —upon the Divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus
“ Christ—upon the Divinity of the Holy Ghost—upon the
“ Articles of the Christian Faith, as comprehended in the
“ Apostles’ and Nicene Creeds.

“ Also I direct, that thirty copies of the eight Divinity
“ Lecture Sermons shall be always printed, within two
“ months after they are preached, and one copy shall be
“ given to the Chancellor of the University, and one copy
“ to the Head of every College, and one copy to the Mayor
“ of the city of Oxford, and one copy to be put into the
“ Bodleian Library; and the expense of printing them shall
“ be paid out of the revenue of the Land or Estates given
“ for establishing the Divinity Lecture Sermons; and the
“ Preacher shall not be paid, nor be entitled to the revenue,
“ before they are printed.

“ Also I direct and appoint, that no person shall be
“ qualified to preach the Divinity Lecture Sermons, un-
“ less he hath taken the degree of Master of Arts at least,
“ in one of the two Universities of Oxford or Cambridge;
“ and that the same person shall never preach the Divinity
“ Lecture Sermons twice.”

S U M M A R Y.

L E C T U R E I.

THE NEED OF MEDIATION.

ROMANS v. 8.

But God commendeth his love toward us, in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us.

Statement of the subject. page 1.

Three ideas that belong to the doctrine of Atonement. 4.

I. The idea of God. a. Ontological grounds for this. 4.
β. Cosmological grounds. 8. γ. Physico-theological grounds. 9. δ. Practical grounds. 11. Estimate of these. 12.

II. The idea of sin. a. Sin viewed as a privation. 16.
β. Sin viewed as selfishness. 18. γ. Sin viewed as disobedience. 20.

III. The idea of reconciliation. 22. Practical aspect of these ideas. 24.

L E C T U R E II.

HEATHEN VIEWS OF MEDIATION.

1 KINGS xviii. 27.

.... Cry aloud: for he is a god; either he is talking, or he is pursuing, or he is in a journey, or peradventure he sleepeth, and must be awaked.

Hope of reconciliation, the key to pagan religions. 29.

Sacrifices. 32. I. of men voluntarily for their fellow-

men. 33. II. of human victims. 38. III. of other victims. 40. IV. Supposed effects of sacrifices. 45. Origin of sacrifices cannot be traced to Noah. 48. Theories of it. 50—53. Summary 53. Conclusion 54.

LECTURE III.

JEWISH VIEWS OF REDEMPTION THROUGH MESSIAH.

LUKE xxiv. 21.

But we trusted that it had been he which should have redeemed Israel.

God's purposes are sure. 60. Connexion of Old and New Testaments. 62.

Double significance of Mosaic sacrifices. 64. The sin-offering examined. 66. Two theories of its meaning. 69. These not irreconcilable. 69. The Day of Atonement. 70. The scapegoat (Azazel) 72. Mosaic sacrifices insufficient. 73. Messianic promises shew this. 74. Their twofold character. 76. These compared with New Testament. 79. Was Messiah expected when our Lord came? 80. Conclusion. 83.

LECTURE IV.

THE GOSPEL ACCOUNT OF JESUS CHRIST.

LUKE xvii. 4.

I have glorified thee on the earth; I have finished the work which thou gavest me to do.

Twofold character of the life of Jesus. 88. Christ the Son of God and the Son of Man. 93. The Son of God. 93. The Son of Man. 94. He must suffer. 96. Objection that the synoptical Evangelists do not so clearly exhibit the Atonement. 98. Important place assigned to his sufferings in all the Evangelists. 100. These to be studied under a conviction of sin. 102. Danger arising from any other temper. 104. View of De Wette of the atoning work of Jesus. 106. Its errors. 109. View of Strauss. 112. Its errors. 115. Conclusion. 117.

LECTURE V.

SCRIPTURAL STATEMENTS AS TO THE ATONEMENT.

1 COR. i. 30, 31.

But of him are ye in Christ Jesus, who of God is made unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption; That according as it is written, He that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord.

God is righteous, proved from natural religion. 120. 1 Cor. xv. 19. Explained. 121. God is merciful, proved in the same way. 123. Scriptural statements that God is just yet merciful. 124. This is an *antinomy*, not a contradiction. 125. It is reconciled in the Gospel scheme. 128. Provided this is studied in a religious temper. 132. Caution required in using new terms and in extending the use of old ones. 133. *Satisfactio*. 135. *Acceptilatio*. 135. *Active and passive obedience*. 136. Peculiar fitness of Scriptural scheme for man's natural wants. 139. Conclusion. 144.

LECTURE VI.

THEORIES OF THE ATONEMENT IN THE EARLY CHURCH.

JOHN xvi. 13.

Howbeit when he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he will guide you into all truth.

Worth of evidence of Christian witnesses. 147. Two lines of thought. I. A ransom paid to Satan. 154. Views of Irenæus. 154. These pushed further by later writers. 156. Unscriptural consequences. 157. II. A satisfaction made to God's justice. View of Anselm. His tone of mind. 161. Analysis of his *Cur Deus homo*. 163. How developed by Thomas Aquinas. 116. Defects of the theory. 166. Inferences from these opinions. 168. Conclusion. 172.

LECTURE VII.

RECAPITULATION, AND STATEMENT OF THE DOCTRINE.

HEBREWS X. 22.

Let us draw near with a true heart, in full assurance of faith, having our hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience, and our bodies washed with pure water.

- I. The Atonement should be studied only in its practical bearings. 176. Neglect of this. 178. Which the Reformation strove to redress. 179. II. It is a reconciliation of men to God, and of God to men. 182. III. It was effected by a Mediator, and by means of the Incarnation. 182. IV. The sinless life of the Redeemer contributed to it. 185. V. The death of Christ reconciled us to God. 189. VI. The resurrection of Christ is connected with our Redemption. 193.

Summary of these propositions. 193.

Theoretical views of our Lord's ministry are partial and incomplete. 194. Socinian scheme. 196. Rationalistic scheme. 197. Mystical scheme. 197. Schleiermacher's theory. 199. Pantheistic theory. 200. Conclusion. 202.

LECTURE VIII.

APPROPRIATION OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE ATONEMENT.

MATTHEW xxviii. 20.

Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.

- The means of knowing Christ are intellectual, moral and sacramental. 206. I. The doctrine suits the *intellect* of a being conscious of sin. 207. but when the intellect intrudes too far, defective theories are formed. 209. II. Moral conditions for this inquiry. 215. Self-denial. 218. III. Sacramental aids. 226.

Conclusion. 228.

NOTES. page 233.

LECTURE I.

ROMANS v. 8.

But God commendeth his love toward us, in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us.

THE reconciliation of God and man through the death of Jesus Christ is the subject of the present Course of Lectures. In order to meet new forms of doubt and unbelief, it is necessary from time to time to open up again subjects that have already perhaps been treated with a learning, piety, and ability, that seemed almost exhaustive; and as half a century of bold speculation, of great political change, and astonishing progress in the material arts, has elapsed since the great doctrine of the Atonement formed the subject of a course similar to this (1), it will come within the scope of the Founder to consider the doctrine under its present aspects, to glance at difficulties which prevent men of this day from accepting it heartily, and at the attempts,

successful or not, to harmonize new theories with this unalterable truth. Now, as many of the current objections set out with a denial of the substantial truth of the word of God, it would not help their solution to offer scriptural proofs and illustrations only. The end in view is to bring back to a trust in the revelation of Jesus Christ some of those who are trying to find rest in other systems; and therefore the discussion must begin upon ground common to us and them. It is proposed, therefore, to show, that there are wants of our nature, real and pressing, which this doctrine would satisfy^a; that pagan religions have recognised the same wants, and worked out methods of meeting them which show no obscure analogy to the true doctrine of the cross^b; and that the law of Moses, being truly a revelation sent from God, foreshadowed distinctly that which the later revelation of the Gospel set forth in substance^c. Then it will be necessary to state accurately the doctrine as put forth by our blessed Lord in the Gospels, vindicating for them on the one hand their historical character, and distinguishing on the other between those divine statements, and human additions and explanations of later date^d. Next we must inquire,

^a Lecture I. ^b Lect. II. ^c Lect. III. ^d Lect. IV.

with the same exactness, what was the tenor of the apostles' preaching when they carried abroad to Jew and Greek the message of salvation, and what place the doctrine of the cross held now, with those men who had lately been so blind and slow of heart to believe in a suffering and atoning Messiah^e. Following this doctrine down into later times, we must inquire how it was preserved, modified, obscured or altered, as it came into contact with new modes of thought, and as a restless curiosity endeavoured to penetrate the depths of the mystery, and to unfold the *how* and the *why* of that which holy Scripture had put forward as a fact^f. Lastly, we shall state anew the scriptural doctrine of the Atonement^g, and inquire into the chief hinderances to a cordial belief in it^h. In this most difficult undertaking, the preacher will be entitled to the hearer's indulgent forbearance, so far at least as he shall endeavour fairly to declare the mind of God, and shall himself show the same forbearing spirit in dealing with those whose errors we are bound to reject, whilst we leave the personal responsibility attached to them, to be adjusted by that Master to whom both they and we must stand or fall.

^e Lecture V. ^f Lect. VI. ^g Lect. VII. ^h Lect. VIII.

At present, then, let us endeavour to analyse those principles of natural religion to which the Christian scheme of mediation seems to be addressed, principles which every one, Christian or not, may discover in his own matured consciousness: in order that we may be able to show that Christianity is not, in respect of its doctrine of the one oblation of Christ, a fictitious and unnatural system, revolting to justice, but is a plan designed by him who framed us, and therefore harmonious with all of good that still speaks within us; in a word, that it is, what Origen says it is, "in agreement with the common notions of men from the beginning" (2).

Now, on the most hasty view, it is plain that three ideas are necessary to a right apprehension of the doctrine of the Atonement; the idea of God, the conviction of sin, and the belief that, in spite of sin, God and the sinner can be again reconciled.

I. The volume which professes to be a revelation of God, presupposes of course that God exists; and therefore we do not find in the Bible any arguments for this doctrine, such as later writers have elaborated. For in truth the proof of his existence is within us; it is part of the common consciousness

of mankind. It is clearest in the highest races of men ; but even in the lowest never quite extinct. But is the possession of this idea to be taken as a proof that the Divine Being exists in fact, without the mind ? We might answer with Anselm (3), that as we imply all perfection in this notion of ours, and as existence in fact as well as in thought is required for perfection, therefore reality must be assigned to that Being, to whom we cannot help attributing in our thoughts all that is perfect. But some would object that on that principle any ideal of perfection must be actual also ; that the Republic of Plato for instance, which, just because it is ideal, its author did not expect to realize, must have had a place among existing governments (4). Or we might answer with another great thinker (5), that independence is part of our notion of the perfect God, and that if such a Being does not exist, the ground of non-existence must be sought either in the divine nature itself, or external to it. In the divine nature we cannot look for it, for there is no logical impossibility in the conception of the perfect Being ; and without him there can be no such ground, because he is independent, and therefore on him outward causes have no

power to operate. But here again we are taking that gigantic stride from thoughts to facts, from what we conceive might exist to what we affirm does and must, which in other matters would be a fatal error; and the idea of God, which is the light indeed of our own souls, might seem, so far as this argument prevented, a dream and a delusion when we attempted to seek it beyond the sphere of our thoughts. Or, lastly, we may answer (6), that the possible must have its ground in the actual, that this idea, this strange design of a finite mind, which has no counterpart in the things I have seen, which makes even the worshipper of idols view them as more than idols before they can be worshipped, which is no arbitrary figment or poetical chimera, but lies still at the bottom of the well of our being and shines up through it in all lights and all moods, asserts its own claim to reality. This of all our mental endowments, this thought of God, which comes into the mind almost the first and goes out the very last, which in moments of disaster and defeat, when all the acquired and conventional inmates of the mind recoil aghast, like hirelings, remains by us a true and consoling friend, this at least must have been sent as the messenger

and evidence of a real Being, whom though we have not seen we know. Because we have the idea, there is a presumption that it was intended to bring us into a relation with a real Being ; for what part of us, fearfully and wonderfully as we are made, have we found to be given in vain ? There is light because there is an eye, and an eye because there is light ; there is an ear, and there are sounds to fill it ; there is an apt and pliant hand, and there is a material world for it to mould and fashion ; there are powers of reasoning and calculation, and in the world laws operate which reason can follow or foretell, and numerical combinations come out that call on the faculties for their highest efforts. There is then a presumption that the thought of God is given to raise us to some real external object of contemplation. But when we consider that this idea claims for itself the highest authority, that working in different nations it has erected hierarchies, excited wars, led great emigrations, armed the hand of persecution, guided the individual on to great achievements when all the pleasures and profits of the world would have been no inducement, then we recognise it not merely as an idea in every mind, but as the highest

and most authoritative of all, and therefore the least likely to be without an object.

It is true that the developments of the notion of God are various. The idea indeed is one, but the conceptions grounded upon it are many ; the subject is there, but the predicates by which it is analysed may not have been assigned, or not correctly. Let us try to trace how the idea is unfolded into a conception.

The world is full of motion and change ; and the present forms of nature are evidently the effects of earlier, as they will also be the causes of later. The plant of wheat which you pluck up in the fields is the aggregate, as the chemist tells you, of several elements, formerly present in the soil and air, which have been appropriated by the vital power of the seed-grain ; so that, except the form, the plant offers us nothing new. But this is an example of a universal law. The whole world, as we see it, acquired its aspect from prior states, and these from earlier conditions still ; the stock of forces, so to speak, is not increased or diminished, though it continually wears new shapes. But in this regression from effect to cause, we refuse to go on without ceasing to eternity ; we crave some cause to rest in, which was not itself an ef-

fect, something permanent, from which the changes and transitory forms of things began, something absolute, as the ground of all relative and derivative forms of being. Now the attempts to satisfy this craving, without resorting to the Deity as the first cause, by supposing some permanent principle in the universe itself, might be thought successful, if it were not that the mind is already in possession of the idea of God, which is ready, as by a natural attraction, to seize upon this new attribute. To conceive a first cause other than God is not in itself impossible ; but the mind looks naturally to God's hand as holding up the chain of being whose links we have tried to follow up ; it recognises this as his prerogative ; it feels that it would be idle to assign it to another (7).

Again, the universe is full of order and beauty, and mutual adaptation of means and ends. Whether some small part of the kingdom of nature be selected, as has often been done by theological writers, the human hand or eye, the plant, the beehive, or the anthill ; or the general harmony of the universe, where great suns and worlds wheel easy and unentangled through space, and yet the lily of the field, and the fowl of the air in its nest, are not forgotten, the endeavour to show

forth God by means of his works has ever been the part of theology most popular and most successful (8). The Gentiles, though revelation had been denied them, yet with the great book of the universe open before them, are pronounced by the Apostle to be without excuse, "because that which may be known of God is manifest in them; for God hath shewed it unto them; for the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and godheadⁱ." Now when it is objected that the marks of design and order do not of themselves prove the agency of a Being that sees and knows his own work in its wonderful beauty, the answer again should be, that seeing we undoubtedly have the idea of God, the real question is, not whether we can explain the universal order upon any such supposition as that of a blind mechanism or self-adapting force inherent in matter, but whether we can prevent our thought of God from claiming as its own the attribute of being the Creator and Governor of the universe. By a natural attraction, as we said, the thought of the independent First Cause, and that of the original Creator, and

ⁱ Romans i. 19, 20.

immanent and permanent Director of the world, must and will become associated ; and thus another predicate is added (I do not say that they succeed in this order) in the development of the idea of the Divine Being.

Again, the dictates of conscience frequently come into conflict with those of immediate self-interest. Pleasure, wealth, and honour are reckoned good things, and yet every one feels bound to forego them from time to time, at the dictation of conscience, the inward law. But if for the sake of mere barren self-approval we have relinquished any portion of that earthly happiness we might have had, if to the witness of conscience within us no outward approval responds, then conscience has cheated us out of part of our birthright, and the more scrupulous we are the more we are deluded. But if the voice of conscience reveals within us a law that is valid without us, if justice and fortitude and forbearance and meekness are approved by our hearts, because one greater than our hearts has stamped them for good and true and noble, then there is no delusion in relinquishing a present gratification for another and higher good (9). This leads us to assign to God another attribute ; he

approves or disapproves of human acts—he rewards or punishes according to the praise or blame of conscience, albeit he is greater than our hearts and knoweth all things, and will correct their judgments where they are wrong. Thus then the idea of God, which has already been shown to claim the sovereignty of the physical world, takes possession also of the region of conscience; and as it was natural to assign him over that an absolute dominion, so in this he manifests an absolute holiness. He “who hath measured the waters in the hollow of his hand, and meted out the heavens with a span, and comprehended the dust of the earth in a measure, and weighed the mountains in scales and the hills in a balance^k,” descends also into the secret places of the human spirit, so that he “tries it and knows its thoughts, and sees if there be any wicked way in it, and leads it in the way everlasting.”

An endeavour has here been made to give a valid form to those celebrated proofs of the existence of God, against which the critical philosophy has succeeded in establishing some objections. It has been said that in every one of those proofs the existence of the idea in the mind is presupposed: and

^k Isaiah xl. 12.

that the leap from what is in the mind to what exists objectively is not safe (10). But we do not *prove* any longer from the so-called ontological argument, that God exists, because we have an idea of him; we *assume* the external existence, otherwise the internal would be unaccountable. It is, no doubt, just conceivable that reason may deceive, and that the idea of the Divine Being might exist in the mind alone; but you are precluded from proving that it does, because you have only reason to proceed on in your proof, and must suppose the validity of reason in order to make good your proof that it is invalid; and thus the argument runs in a vicious circle (11). As in the question of the real existence of the surrounding world, or of the possibility of free-will, so in this greatest of all questions; we trust our first intuitions against all later doubts, and cannot deny that God exists, or that the world of the senses is real, or that free moral action is possible, because reason assumes all these propositions, and nothing absolutely contradicts them. Nor do we prove that God exists from the cosmological proof, or the argument that there must be a First Cause, for such a cause might be something far removed from the Divine Being; but, given an

idea of God, the mind cannot sunder the notion of the First Cause from it. Nor would the so-called physico-theological proof, which teaches the existence of the Deity from marks of design and beauty in creation, be sufficient to prove the existence of an absolute Being, distinct from and above the universe ; but when such a Being exists in our thoughts already, we assign to him, by an instinct scarcely resistible, the functions of the Creator. The same is true of the moral proof, that from the voice of conscience ; from that argument alone the existence of a holy personal God, the judge of our hearts and actions, could not be established, but already an idea has dawned upon us, of one whom this attribute well becomes ; and it is assigned accordingly. We use these arguments then, not as proofs of the Divine existence, but as descriptions of so many steps in the development of the idea of God. Taking with us the thought of God into all the great regions of human inquiry, into history, into the sciences of nature, into the knowledge of the human mind, we find so much that can only be explained upon the supposition of the existence of the Deity, that we come back from our labour strengthened and refreshed in

our faith in him, and unwilling to put it in peril by critical refinements. To cast ourselves upon the care of one who provides for the great universe, to begin to take his known will in moral subjects home to our own will, seem natural results of the inquiry.

II. But in this contemplation of God another thought presents itself. That God is a moral Being, taking account of right and wrong, holiness and unholiness, conscience itself admonished us. But so long as the mind is at one with itself, and the inclinations and the convictions are not at war, there is no place for the monitions of conscience. Man first becomes conscious that there is a divine law when he deviates from it, as he is insensible of the existence of his own bodily organs till their healthy action is disturbed. And thus, apart from revelation, even heathen thinkers were forced to take account of this duality of human nature, of the inclination we have to actions that our mind at the same time disapproves. "It is clear," says one of them (12), "that I have two souls, for surely if it were one it would not be good and bad at the same time, and inclined to good deeds and evil too, and willing at one time to do certain things

and not to do them. But plainly there are two souls, and when the good one gets the upper hand, it does right, when the evil, it enters on wicked courses."

Now all profound conceptions of sin are derived directly from the contemplation of him who has no sin, of God himself; and as the knowledge of God grows higher, deeper, and wider, so does the exceeding sinfulness of sin become more apparent. For, to begin with that region from which moral subjects would seem the most remote, when a man throws himself into the study of the physical laws, and begins as it were to measure with line and rule the wonderful proportions of this beautiful temple of the universe in whose courts he daily walks, he must, if he is at all in earnest, form some conception of the proper place which he was to hold in it. Other agents indeed were blind instruments in the Creator's fingers; the coral reef grows up, that it may perhaps hereafter be the foundation of a solid land, and the forest is overthrown, that after silent ages it may be ready to furnish fuel to man, but neither knows its destiny. Man alone knows and sees; and with the knowledge comes an obligation to act, to acquiesce with his will, and aid with his hand and

strength, in the progress of the divine purpose. And then flashes on the thinker that mysterious and shocking conviction—"In all this mighty harmony I am the only jarring string. With God's works before me, and with power to understand them and glorify him because of them, I have heard them indeed, but understood not, have seen them indeed, but perceived not. To that social progress which was meant to be the law for my race, I have been a mere impediment; indolence and greediness, want of faith, want of fortitude, want of love, have borne me down into inaction, who should have been as a winged messenger to his bidding. If sun and stars, wind and sea, summer and winter, fulfil his word, and I, with the same word speaking within me and written in great characters without me, which they that run might read, stand wholly aloof from my God, is not this a state of death, of nothingness?" And hence arises that negative conception of sin which has ever found acceptance with the profoundest minds (13). "Evil," says Augustine, "has no nature of its own; but the loss of good has received the name of evil." "The good man truly exists," says Origen, "... evil and wickedness are the same as

non-existence” And Plotinus was led to infer that the soul of man possesses some vestiges at least of good, because evil is a mere privation, and if there were nothing else in the soul, it would be as though it existed not. Sin then on this view is that part of our nature which has not the stamp of God upon it; and as he is the source of all existence, it is the part of us which is excluded from true life and being.

But there is another side to the conception of sin, deducible, like the former, from the thought of God. The state of inward struggle, as if between two souls, which always marks the existence of sin, implies at least two warring principles. Evil, it is true, may be represented for some purposes as mere privation of good; but if evil can sustain a conflict and pervert the course of a life, some real substantive existence must be assignable to that which has such real effects. Now one of the two principles we recognise as good and divine; but what is the other? In a word, it is selfishness. Sin is that perversion of the soul which makes it, even whilst conscious of God, pursue some lower aim, and seek with an obtrusive egotism to make its own law for itself, to be wise in ways that are not permitted, to gain what has not been

given it, to enjoy forbidden pleasures, to sit and sleep in indolence over its appointed task. The roots of selfishness strike wider and deeper than some of us are aware; when the more gross and obvious forms of it, comprised under the name of sensuality, are cast out or subdued, the subtler influences of self-esteem may still be too active; and love of power, love of wisdom, love of our family, the pride of consistency, the fear of censure or misunderstanding, often call back the soul to its own narrower circle, when it would fain go forth from itself and lay hold upon God. And the consciousness of this has brought many thinkers to represent sin and selfishness as identical (14). "The principle of excessive self-love," says Plato, "is the cause of all the errors which every man at different times falls into." "The first act of our evil will," says Augustine, "was rather a defection from the work of God to its own work, than any real work." Many of the names given to the sinful principle express in reality forms of selfishness, and so bear witness to the truth of this view. When pride is represented as the essence of sin, the elevation of self to be the law and the ruler of life is intended by that name; when im-

patience is regarded as identical with sin, this only expresses a spirit of resistance to every external command, which implies internal self-reliance ; when unbelief, an unwillingness to trust to God is the sinful element, which again must suppose a trust in ourselves (15). The opinion then that sin and selfishness are the same, is profoundly true ; and the contradiction between that view and the notion that it is a privation of good, is only apparent and not real ; for the selfish life is only the semblance of life, it neither gains nor effects anything ; proud as he is of his own wisdom and activity, the sinful man, even in the eyes of another like himself, is seen to have brought forth no real fruit, and his life is merely the privation or absence of all that is good.

That sin is also a violation of God's law follows from the other explanations of it. The disorder, the want of harmony, the struggle in the soul, take place between a part of us that is, and one that is not, in accord with the law of God. So far as the rebellious part prevails, we have deserted God, and as every law implies guilt in the transgressors of it, and most of all the divine Law, because it is both perfect and para-

mount, so no man in his natural state can meditate sincerely upon God and his own ways without remorse and sorrow (16). Here then is the threefold aspect of sin; the thought of God the Ruler of the Universe, immanent in every part his works, the life of all that live, the designer of all beauty, the pillar of all strength, the mover in all change, brings with it the thought that from one part only is he excluded, from the human will, which he has made so high that it can even look at and deny him. Sin then, as the only stronghold into which the source of all being does not penetrate, reduces the sinner to a kind of non-existence. But as there must be some active principle even in the most disordered and futile activity, the motive of the sinner is to be found in selfishness. But though this impels to actions, it cannot enforce approval of them; the master we obey leaves us without praise or wages, the Master we disobey makes the voice of his anger against us heard in the night season, and in the hour when the hands hang down and the knees are feeble. Sin then is a loss and privation of all that is good, and a state which sets up self as a lawgiver, and a revolt from one whose present reproofs of our disobedience

are an earnest of his power to punish rebellion.

III. As it has been shown that deep contemplation of God, even on the ground of natural religion, brings out the separation between us and him, and deepens our own conviction of sin, so do these two conceptions awaken in man a third—the desire and hope of reconciliation. That man has power to know God at all, is a guarantee against utter desertion and desperation; for it would be hard to persuade us that he whose love and goodness are so conspicuous in creation, had allowed gleams of his own light to penetrate the darkness of our fallen and imprisoned state, only that we might feel that darkness was our portion for ever. Never has the mind of man, driven to construct a worship from its natural resources, invented a religion of despair. It has sought in prayer and in sacrifice to return again to him to whom it feels that it is related, and whom it would fain call once more “Abba, Father.” In sacrifice it has sought atonement, and in prayer reconciliation (17). For these ideas are distinct; and a state of reconciliation for the future can only be secured by a complete atonement for the past; just as the reformation of a criminal

is no security, how long soever it may have lasted, against the punishment of some old misdeed. Moral guilt is not effaced by lapse of time nor change of conduct ; unless some act of purgation, such as the endurance of punishment, or the payment of some accepted composition, or the announcement of a pardon, shall have passed, the guilt, we know, remains upon the conscience, and though new actions may be heaped up over it, it lies still beneath the mass, and we fear the day may come when it will be sought for and exposed. Unable to sit still under it, yet unwilling themselves to suffer the terrible punishments due to it, men of all nations have resorted to sacrifices as the means of expiating their guilt. The various forms of these atoning rites, and their precise meaning, must be considered hereafter ; enough to state at present that the essence of all religions is to provide some means of mediation between sinful man and God.

These then are the three principles with which Christian thought must commence—the belief in God, the conviction of sin, the hope of reconciliation. All false religions have endeavoured to satisfy them ; and if it shall prove that the Gospel of Jesus Christ meets every want that they imply, solves difficul-

ties of which less perfect systems have not been able to free themselves, deepens and quickens religious knowledge to a degree that no other scheme has attempted, if, in short, it commends itself to that religious appetite that has just been described, as its proper and satisfying food, then our confidence in the documents of our religion will be confirmed, and the objections of mere criticism will be resisted by an inward witness which they cannot assail. When the eyes have been opened by the conviction of sin, so that they have beheld wondrous things in God's law, when the word of Christ has been long "a lamp unto the feet, and a light unto the path," so that we desire to take it as our heritage for ever, then all doubts about that word clear away, or at least there is an assurance that they will as knowledge is increased. For it is not in order to construct a religion out of our Christian consciousness that we have laid open its roots, it is not to make the Bible square with our supposed religious needs; but to discover whether the Bible as it stands meets the highest human wants, and is the only system which in these days even pretends to do so.

And these are not mere speculative ques-

tions, although we examine the results of speculative inquiry, and use its terms. There is no subject so directly practical. When a man gathers his feet into his bed, and turns his face to the wall, and the physician, with words as sure as those of the prophet, bids him set his house in order, for he shall surely die, and that common doom of mankind, which he has talked about till he has almost ceased to believe it, has found him at last, then, of all the world without, of all the treasures of his mind within, these three thoughts remain—the thought of God, good and righteous, the reminiscence of a sinful life, the hope of forgiveness. In health and youth, it may be, these instincts of nature kept silence on easy terms, and gave little trouble amidst the throng of outward impressions and of inward schemes and wishes, that made life pass busily, if not happily, and hurried on the hours, so that deep thought was scarcely possible. But the sense of our true position is not less real, because it can be banished for a season. And when the springs of life fail, when Barzillai's numb senses no longer apprehend splendour and harmony and convivial joy^m, and the jealous Saul hears the praises of his prowess trans-

^m 2 Samuel xix. 35.

ferred to anotherⁿ, and David's lamentation mingles with the shout of victory, because the son for whom he would have died has been stricken^o, and Solomon in all his glory and wisdom confesses that life is a weary dream^p, and Job sits down in the ashes of his prosperity to listen to the cruel railings of false comforters^q; in a word, when great shocks, as it were of an earthquake, force a man to feel how unstable this world is, then, whatever else may reel and stagger, the existence of God is sure, and our helplessness is sure, and the one must needs seek succour from the other. You will say, that such seasons of desolation do not always bring back the lost sense of religion; you may argue against this evidence of consciousness, because, in fact, men who lived without God seem able to die without him, and in a state of stupid, groundless contentment depart to meet their Judge. And indeed the bravery of men is terrible. We march on, shoulder to shoulder, through the fight of life, encouraging and gladdening one another, never looking at the heap of slain, seldom even whispering that the whole army to a man must fall. In your metropolis alone, twelve hundred men have

ⁿ 1 Sam. xviii. 8.

^o 2 Sam. xviii. 33.

^p Eccles. i. 2.

^q Job iv.

died between Sunday and Sunday ; yet there is no cry of lamentation in the streets, and the care that sits upon so many brows belongs to this world rather than to another. And this must be. If upon all that stirring crowd there brooded always a foreboding of the valley of the shadow of death, without a sight of the guiding hand, and the supporting rod and staff that would take men through it, the life and energy by which the growing world has been advanced through ages, would be paralysed in man, who exhibits its highest form. But there is a principle within us that can reconcile activity and safety, time and eternity. The knowledge of God and of sin, and the craving for reconciliation, have not been given but to be satisfied. It will be well with you and with me, if our idea of God is becoming higher and more abiding, if our feeling of dependence on his mercy is growing more complete, if we sincerely believe that through the obedience and cross of Jesus Christ, past guilt is forgiven, the lost relation between his infinite nature and our finite restored, and all that was dead in us can be made alive again. It will be well if conscience ceases to be a slave in the house, and begins to govern the senses, the thoughts, and actions,

for then that lawlessness and disproportion which, heathens tell us (18), is the curse of a man or a state, will be removed. It will be well if, taught by the abounding love of Christ, by his unwearied diligence in well-doing, by his sympathy with suffering, by his one sufficient sacrifice, we press forward, one and all, whilst we have something to offer of time, and strength, and gifts of mind and body, to present ourselves a living sacrifice to God most high.

LECTURE II.

1 KINGS xviii. 27.

. . . . Cry aloud: for he is a god; either he is talking, or he is pursuing, or he is in a journey, or peradventure he sleepeth, and must be awaked.

THESE were the bitter words in which Elijah derided the priests of Baal and their sacrifice. The prophet of God stood alone, against the four hundred and fifty prophets of Baal, supported by the favour of Ahab and his wicked Sidonian queen. The challenge was given; the trial was come. From morning till noon the false prophets offered their misdirected worship, "but there was no voice, nor any that answered." And then these words of scorn were uttered. The false worship measured itself against the true; and no wonder it was condemned. The ministers of idolatry were put forward to supplant the prophets of Jehovah, and no wonder they were slain.

But now that the strife and the peril are over, and those ancient forms of idolatrous

worship can be calmly studied in the sacred history, a feeling of pity may be allowed to replace the prophet's noble scorn. Every attempt to satisfy that inmost want of man, the want of reconciliation with the Divine Power, appeals directly to human sympathy. For what is the key to all these corrupt religions? The spirit of man felt deeply that it could not return by a mere act of the will to the God from whom it knew itself to be cut off. It could not resolve, "I will arise and go to my father, and will say unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven and before thee, and am no more worthy to be called thy son^a;" for there was nothing to bridge over the gulf of that felt unworthiness. With no outward change in its relation to its Lord, the mind knows that it cannot re-unite itself to him by any force exerted from within. Sin has produced anger in God, as it has wrought uneasiness in the conscience; and no lapse of time brings an amnesty, no desire on the part of the outlawed offender can efface its consequences. Hence sprang up in all nations the use of sacrifices, which are, in their most general acceptation, gifts by means of which man strives to make good his imperfect con-

^a Luke xv. 18.

secration of himself to God, who is his lawful Lord (19). And vain are all the attempts to account for this universal practice, by deducing it from some one of the ordinary passions or affections of men. When the blood of the bull or goat is shed, and he who has offered it derives from his sacrifice comfort and courage, it is vain to pretend that the whole transaction can be explained on the ground that God has been bribed with a gift, or that the victim is a mulct or fine adequate to the past transgressions, or that the sacrifice was a mere symbol, whether of acceptance with God, as the victim is accepted, or of obliteration of sin, as it is consumed, or of vicarious punishment suffered by it. All these views have found their advocates (20); but they are all defective and partial. Attempts at a theory must be abandoned. The use of sacrifices must be accepted as a fact; and it proves at least this much, that men believed they could find help from external means in drawing closer their relation to the Divine Power. And the ethical objection so often urged against this truth—that one's own sins are not transferable either in their guilt or their punishment, because the simplest natural justice requires that the sinner alone should

bear his own burden and the righteous man wear his own crown—is so obvious, that we must believe it was known to the Greek or Roman who brought his costly victim to Zeus or Diana, as clearly as to the philosopher of modern days (21). The fact that in the face of that natural law—the soul that sinneth *it* shall die—every nation visited death upon sinless victims, in order to expiate its own transgressions, will be taken by any candid person as a sign that the principle of sacrifice has a stronger hold on the human mind than that of simple retribution.

Let it be the purpose of the present Lecture to inquire how the different pagan systems have endeavoured to satisfy the religious want, which in the former Lecture we found to be inherent in the human mind.

All worship consists in prayer and sacrifice; but as the former always accompanied the latter, and was reckoned incomplete without it, our purpose will be best served by considering the subject of sacrifice alone, the greater as including the less. Various definitions have been given of sacrifice, so formed as to include the two great divisions of it, thank-offerings and expiations for sin, i.e., gifts of gratitude that the relation between

man and God is not wholly severed, and offerings to purge away the guilt, which is the obstacle to a more perfect relation. We may describe a sacrifice as a visible expression of our dependance upon the Deity; or as an attempt to procure by an offering of a visible and sensual kind, invisible and supersensual good, to conciliate, by a consecration of the creature, the favour of the Creator (22); or we may call it, in words I have used already, the effort to make good our imperfect devotion of ourselves to God by means of gifts. Such descriptions show us different sides of the subject; let us see how far they are borne out by the practice of those who had not revelation to guide them.

Abandoning for hopeless all attempts to trace the steps in the growth of heathen sacrifices, we may turn first to those striking cases in which men are represented as laying down their own lives, consciously and freely, for the sake of their fellow-men (23). And here, as our object is to examine what men thought, what they could admire and record, rather than what took place in fact, it is needless to criticise the narratives closely, and to sift the historical from the mythological portions. When we are told that

Codrus, the Athenian king, laid down his life to the Dorian invaders, because an oracle had made that the condition of the repulse of the enemy, the points on which we seize, whether the story be true or false, are the belief, even among pagans, that some "would even dare to die" for their fellow-men, the opinion that such heroic devotion might be effectual, and the honour deservedly paid to the memory of one whose sympathies were so deep and large. It is the same with the fate of Menœceus of Thebes, who fell by his own hand, because a divine sanction connected that sacrifice with the safety of his city. A temple commemorated the self-devotion of the daughters of Orion, in offering their lives to arrest a plague, and the Aonians brought them yearly thank-offerings. In the Latin war, at the battle near Vesuvius, Publius Decius, in obedience to a vision, devoted himself to death in order to secure the destruction of the Latin army and the victory of his own. With a solemn imprecation, prescribed by the priest, he rushed among the enemy, "a majesty more than human visible in his form," says the narrator, "as though he were sent from heaven to expiate all the anger of the gods, to turn away destruction from his

countrymen by casting it upon their enemies." From such stories, and they might be multiplied, even the soberest reasoner must infer that that highest proof of love, that a man lay down his life for his friends, was conceivable in the darkest times of human intelligence, and that it seemed more than possible such offerings should avail in averting calamities. Yes; that mysterious sympathy—which in the one Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ did in fact gather-in all the separate stems of men's sin and suffering into one great sheaf, and bear its enormous weight, and lay it on the altar of God, that sympathy under which an Apostle "could wish that himself were accursed from Christ for his brethren^b," if this might turn and save them, — was foreshadowed in these weaker acts of love; and the honours and gratitude that they elicited are an earnest of the higher feeling with which the Christian regards the sufferings of his Lord. Call them, if you will, barbarous superstitions, for indeed the oracles were false, and the piacular blood was poured out in vain; but do not mock at the notion of a substitutive suffering, nor propose to carry the crude principles of human justice into the divine

^b Romans ix. 3.

economy, urging that each individual criminal must stand alone, without advocate or comforter, to be judged at God's bar for all his works ; for the stammering lips of the human race in its childhood will rebuke you.

And on this common ground, where the priest and the victim meet in one, we may ask what was the original consecration of the pagan priest (24). Was it not perhaps the same loving sympathy ? Men in whom religious thoughts were stirred up, and who saw clearly the deity on one side, and sin on the other, endeavoured to mediate between heaven and the careless multitude, and sought out many inventions for propitiating the divine anger, and enlisting the reverence of the people in their undertaking. In the settled forms of heathenism, indeed, where a sacerdotal caste administers a sacrificial system, from which perhaps the meaning has long since departed, we seek in vain for traces of such feelings. But new religious movements exhibit it distinctly. Thus of the founder of Buddhism, who, in his struggle against the Brahminical priesthood, usurped those sacred functions that belonged to the Brahmin caste alone, it is said by way of complaint — “he is praised because he said, Let all the sins that have been com-

mitted in this world fall on me, that the world may be delivered." And his opponents could discover in this prayer of a loving spirit, only a proof of sinfulness; occupied as they were continually in making expiation for sin by burdensome sacrifices, they had forgotten the love that should have animated their work. As the priest sought to stand between God and man, the infinite and the finite, he occupied of necessity a double position: to plead for men he must be one of themselves, yet when he assures them of pardon or safety, he must stand to them in the place of God. Accordingly, in the one capacity he leads their prayers, and offers their victims; in the other, we find him receiving honours little short of divine, and even representing, with mask and dress and emblem, the deity, whether Bacchus or Demeter, to whom he was devoted. Greater than men, because he was able to approach the gods more nearly, and less than the gods, because he had to minister among men, whose frailties he shared, the heathen priest occupied an intermediate position. And it is remarkable that the Arians assigned the Christian Mediator a similar position. They thought that "created beings could not bear the presence of one who was not born, and

therefore God sent his Son as a mediator, to reveal the truth (25);" they regarded a mediator as one who stood midway between two contending parties, to set them at one. In a word, they thought of the Son of God as higher than men and lower than God, because they could not realise the scheme of reconciliation by which Jesus Christ exhibited two whole and perfect natures already made one in his own person.

II. The use of human sacrifices opens a more gloomy chapter in the history of man (26). Between the willing victim, to whose exalted self-devotion the pains of death were almost unfelt, whose physical suffering was glorified to all beholders by the grandeur of his moral strength, and the miserable captive murdered in the name of the gods, with shouts and loud music to drown his protesting cries, there is an enormous interval. The practice of offering human victims, begun in cruel and barbarous ages, resisted the progress of civilisation with great tenacity. In Athens, at the festival of Thargelia, two victims were supposed to carry away with them, as they were solemnly led out of the city to death, amidst blows and insults, the sins of the whole people. At Rome, less than a hundred years before Christ, it was necessary to issue a de-

cree against human sacrifices ; yet the prohibition was disregarded in several times of unusual calamity. The horrible worship of Moloch, in which infants were cast alive into the grasp of a fiery statue of the god, prevailed in Phœnicia, and among the Ammonites, the Cretans, and the Carthaginians. The Egyptians, the Persians, all the nations of the North, offered human life to the gods, and thought that they did them thereby a service and a pleasure. If it has been questioned whether the Hindoos ever actually slew human victims to the gods, the idea at least was not unknown to them. When European sails were first furled in the new world of the West, a system of sacrifices was found established more sanguinary than even fancy could have dared to conceive. Thousands of prisoners of war were annually slain by the Aztecs in the name of religion. To one of their deities, whom they worshipped as the soul and creator of the world, a strange tribute was paid. A captive, beautiful and perfect in form, was set aside a year before the act ; and all kingly pomp surrounded him, and all men paid him homage as the representative of the deity himself. When the short year was over, he was conducted to an altar near the city ; he was stripped of

his glory, and cast his crown to the ground, and broke in pieces his instruments of music. Then he was put to death by the priests, and offered with solemn rites to the god, in whose stead he had received honour but a few days before. If we distrust these accounts, given by invaders willing to justify their own violence and rapine, we may find in India at this day a tribe that has preserved a system of human sacrifice in all important respects identical with this. Let these facts, out of many, suffice for the present. And let us only ask ourselves what deep-seated yearning of the mind these horrible rites, so widely practised, so repugnant to that natural pity which can never be extinguished in the mind of any father, brother, or son, were meant to satisfy.

III. A less cruel and revolting class of sacrifices remains to be considered, those, namely, which men have offered to the Divine Power, of their fruits, their flocks, and their herds, to show their thankfulness and need of heavenly favour (27). Now the key-note of all the sacrificial systems is the same; self-abdication and a sense of dependance on God, are the feelings which gifts and victims strive to express. Wherever there are men, there is worship: and

where there is worship, there is the need of divesting ourselves of something, to lay it at the foot of the throne of him we adore. The firstfruits, and the choice of the flock and herd, are thought but poor and unworthy signs of devotion; and the feeling which David expressed to Araunah has guided the piety of the wide world;—"I will surely buy it of thee at a price, neither will I offer burnt-offerings unto the Lord my God of that which doth cost me nothing^c." But so far the distinctive meaning of sacrifices hardly appears; the costly gift, and the self-denying act, are as natural expressions of an earthly love or friendship, as they are of the seeking after God. They would suit as well the subjects of a human king exacting tribute, as the people of a divine ruler who was angry at their disobedience. But the principal sacrifices were always accompanied by shedding of blood. And the reason of this is, that the victim is not offered merely as a precious possession, as a fine or heriot to an exacting lord, but as a life; and in the blood, as the seat of life, did the essence of the sacrifice consist. "Without shedding of blood is no remission^d," is a maxim that might be ex-

^c 2 Sam. xxiv. 24.

^d Heb. ix. 22.

tended to other systems besides the law of God given by Moses. Nor is it by a poetical figure only that the blood is called the life; physiologists of the greatest name have used the same language to describe it. It is "the fountain of life," says Harvey, "the first to live and the last to die, and the primary seat of the animal soul; it lives and is nourished of itself, and by no other part of the body." And a greater authority still [John Hunter] infers that it is the seat of life, because all the parts of the frame are formed and nourished from it. "And if," says he, "it has not life previous to this operation, it must then acquire it in the act of forming; for we all give our assent to the existence of life in the parts when once formed" (28). But long before science recognised this truth, even false religions had acted upon it; and the words of God to Moses made it known. "The life of the flesh is in the blood; and I have given it to you upon the altar to make an atonement for your souls, for it is the blood that maketh an atonement for the soul^e."

Now I will not here attempt to enumerate the modes in which the heathen systems have applied this principle. But it may be

^e Levit. xvii. 11.

said advisedly that the doctrine of a life for a life, of a propitiation for sin through the outpouring of blood, "has prevailed almost over the whole world, and yet it does not seem to proceed on any antecedent reason, nor on any assignable error" (29). All the greater epochs of life—a birth, a marriage, or the death of a friend; all solemn political acts, a war, a truce, or a treaty; all fears and joys; all outgoings and returnings; all those important steps and changes indeed in which man feels that without help he may slip and stumble; were sanctified by the shedding of blood. To assert that all worshippers at pagan altars consciously offered a life to atone for their own, would be untrue; as it would be to say that in all these religions the notion of expiation was equally prominent. In no two Christian churches, in no two ages, in no two individuals, perhaps, are religious truths realised in exactly the same proportion and degree. Still the practice of sacrifice was almost universal in the ancient pagan world; and there are many indications that the shedding of blood was understood to imply the offering of a life instead of another life that was forfeit or in peril. In one religion the natural element prevails over the ethical; gods are worshipped who

manifest themselves in the powers of nature, and the sense of sin is faint and obscure, and there this kind of sacrifice is made less important. In another, the metaphysical element predominates; the religion offers a system of the universe and a theory of being, instead of a divine law to govern and discern the hearts of men; and there study and meditation are more appropriate than sacrificial acts. But with all these deductions, it is still true that sacrifice for sin, to redeem a forfeited life, was almost universal in the ancient world.

There is indeed one great exception; and none can wonder that when God allowed men to walk in their own ways true ideas should sometimes be lost. The system of Buddhism began in a protest against the burdensome formalities of the Brahminical ritual. It was a scheme of metaphysics rather than a moral law; and, like the system from the bosom of which it sprang, it taught that God was all and in all, and that the human spirit must strive to become absorbed in him, without attending to the barrier which sin had thrown across the path. Hence the need of a propitiation was not felt. At the same time, the habit of seeing all things in God gave a sacredness

to life, even that of the meanest creatures, so that it became unlawful to shed blood : and no crying desire to appease the wrath of God existed in the minds of its votaries, sufficient to break through for that one sacred purpose their repugnance to the destruction of animal life. Thus Buddhism stands out as a religion without sacrifice. But owing to its neglect of the sinfulness of man, this system, which began in the highest aspirations after divine knowledge and communion, has ended in the outward form of a hierarchy, with a standard of life and thought beyond all others earthly and unspiritual (30).

IV. There remains one obvious question that must not be passed over — In these pagan rites how was the gift supposed to benefit the giver ? How could the conscience satisfy itself of the connexion between the victim pouring out a life it had done nothing to forfeit, and the worshipper full of fear for his sins ? Many attempts to answer come out in pagan systems. The feast that followed a sacrifice, in which the flesh of the victim was eaten by the priest and people, was regarded as a participation in the effects of the religious work ; as appears from the fact, that where the sins of the people had been solemnly imprecated on the

head of the victim, no one might eat of that accursed flesh, lest the malediction should come with it (31). The strange ceremony of the *taurobolion*, described by Prudentius (32), is another such answer; the blood of the victim was made to flow over the body of him who would be consecrated to the mother of the gods; and one inscription, amongst many which speak of this rite, records the belief of one who had received it, that he was thereby “regenerate for ever” (*in æternum renatus*). Far deeper than such mechanical views was the belief that the effects of a sacrifice depended mainly upon the state of the will and mind of the worshipper. “To obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams^f,” of this divine truth even the heathen were not wholly ignorant. “It would be a strange thing” (these are words put into the mouth of Socrates) “if the gods looked to gifts and sacrifices, and not to the soul, whether a person happen to be holy and just. Nay, they look much more, probably, to this than to costly pomps and sacrifices, which those that have erred much towards the gods and much towards their fellows, be it in the case of a private man or a city, may pay for without

^f 1 Sam. xv. 22.

hinderance every year" (33). And when one reads that after such arguments the humbled worshipper he addressed, uncertain whether his mind was fit to pray, took back his victim till he should receive more light, one may see how the great harvest of the human mind was ripening on to the fulness of time in which Christ himself should put in the sickle. Christ himself saw good to warn against the rash offering—"If thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath ought against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift^s." But somehow or other, whether by the solemn feast, or the hideous washing in blood, or, better far, in the praying, humbled, self-abdicating attitude of the spirit, the worshipper went along with his gift, to claim a share in the blessing it was to bring.

Many of my hearers know how completely the researches of learned men into the origin and meaning of piacular sacrifices have been baffled. So various are the results at which they have arrived, and so clearly does each perceive the objections to the views of others, that each in turn may be answered from the

works of the rest ; whilst the subject itself gains little beyond inspiring us with a sense of its difficulty and of the caution required in treating it. Still it will be necessary to draw attention to some of these results.

Now as to the origin of expiatory sacrifices, it has been argued, that as they are practised universally, and as it is against the common sense of men to seek to atone for inward faults by foreign pain and blood, they must have proceeded from some common origin, and have been handed by tradition from race to race, and age to age, until they overspread the world. A usage unreasonable in itself, could not have been invented by many different nations without concert. But if we assume that Noah inculcated on all his descendants a practice which he knew from God himself to be good and acceptable, the unanimity of the nations may be explained (34). But however attractive the facility of this explanation may be, it can hardly bear a severe scrutiny. The diversity of the modes of sacrifice among various nations is no less striking than the universality of the practice. Noah did indeed offer "burnt offerings on the altar^h" to the Lord, and, as the sacrifice was approved, we may

^h Gen. viii. 20.

well suppose that his descendants would continue the same sacred rites. But that this tradition should reappear in the laborious formality of Brahminical worship, and the sanguinary cruelties of the Aztec system, and the strange atonement which the Athenian provided in the Thargelia, does seem to prove that if the human mind had no power to invent the principle of reconciliation by sacrifice, it exercised an almost boundless privilege of altering and developing the tradition it received. But further, it is not merely a system of sacrifice, of which we are seeking the germ, but one into which *human* sacrifices were largely admitted. Nor can it be maintained that this revolting custom was a late abuse, which grew up as the tradition died out among Noah's descendants; for I believe all writers are agreed that human sacrifice is of high antiquity, and was slowly replaced by more merciful rites. But what were the very terms of the covenant with Noah, of that covenant which would be handed down with the supposed tradition of sacrifice, even if it did not outlast it? "At the hand of every man's brother will I require the life of man. Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed; for in the image of God made he

manⁱ.” To account then for the wide and ancient practice of slaying human victims, we are asked to suppose that the nations remembered from Noah the precept to offer sacrifice, whilst in the very liturgical acts by which they hoped to please and satisfy the divine Power, they totally forgot his own most solemn denunciation of the shedding of human blood.

It is not possible to form a consistent theory of heathen sacrifices, based on the ordinary passions and feelings, so as to explain away what has seemed “unnatural” and “unreasonable” in the practice, although many attempts have been made. We are told, for example, that in times of barbarism, when the conceptions of the Deity were low and sensuous, the worshipper saw in him a king, whose throne should be approached with gifts to propitiate his favour, whom it was disrespectful and dangerous to address with empty hands. Investing this king with all the human wants, they brought the choicest food and drink, to satisfy the hunger and slake the thirst of the unseen, and the death and burning of the victim were but stages in the preparation of his banquet. They offered their choice and beautiful pos-

ⁱ Gen. ix. 5, 6.

sessions of different kinds, to attest their devotion and self-denial, and to gratify the divine being through “the lust of the eye” (35). That this theory has found supporters may be owing to its simplicity; for it cannot be reconciled with the facts. The worshipper who brought a thank-offering to a god—for example the Persian as described by Herodotus—knew well that he was preparing a feast for himself, and not for the deity to whom he consecrated it; and it is hard to see how the most pious imagination could have put such a construction upon its own joy and revelry. But the expiatory sacrifice, in which the blood and the life were the essence of the gift, is left wholly unexplained; and nothing can be more clearly proved from historical evidence than the wide and all but universal employment of this class of rites. Moreover the early religions were symbolical; the sun and moon, and the host of heaven, and the natural forces at work in the earth, were personified and worshipped; and it is incredible that the imagination that could exalt these into gods should be content with a view of the sacrifices made to them, so crude, so low.

Or shall we say that sacrifices were mere symbols at first, and that they were exalted

by superstition by slow degrees into real and effectual means of reconciliation (36)? We admit that their symbolical import comes out in many parts of them. The sin-offering, of which the worshipper might not partake, excited the thought of separation from God, as the thank-offering, which he shared himself, showed that the separation was not complete. The demand of a perfect and sound victim reminded the worshipper of that which lacked in himself, soundness and purity. The death-stroke of the victim was a sign of the heavy punishment due to the sin of him who brought it. But that sacrifices were *mere* symbols, at any period when history furnishes the means of examining them, this theory can hardly pretend to affirm. A reckless expenditure of human and animal life, and a waste of what might have been food for men, laws solemn and strict against eating of the victim on whom the sins had once been laid, are signs that the work was earnest and real. And instead of the symbol rising in course of time to a reality, we have clear traces of the reverse process; the prodigality of sacrifices was retrenched, and the cheaper symbol substituted (37); the waxen image took the place of the man; the figure of rushes was thrown into

the Tiber instead of the breathing victim ; and the image of a bull made of meal or wood relieved the worshippers of the more expensive offering it represented. Nor are the inspired words in the Epistle to the Hebrews decisive for the theory of symbolism. "The law having a shadow of good things to come, and not the very image of the things, can never with those sacrifices which they offered year by year continually make the comers thereunto perfect. . . . It is not possible that the blood of bulls and of goats should take away sins^k." For if we reason from this to the heathen rites we are now considering, it must be remembered that the words speak of results and not intentions. The priests of Baal knocked at the door of heaven in vain ; there was no voice nor any that answered : but they intended the act of devotion to be effectual. They were not holding up a symbol to the people, nor acting a religious play ; they were wrestling with their god in earnest for a blessing, but their god was a dumb idol, that would neither resist, nor yield, nor answer them.

Avoiding then all theories, let us glance hastily back at the facts we have obtained.

^k Heb. x. 1. 4.

In the nobler minds of paganism the warm sympathy was often kindled, that made them anxious to free their brothers from sin and sorrow, peril and death. Many endeavoured to realise this great aspiration even by laying down life itself. In almost all countries, mediation by prayer and sacrifice has been the heart of religion. The revolting practice of human sacrifice appears to be very ancient and very widely spread. In most religious systems, the essential part of the sacrifice was the life, and the blood as the seat of life. And lastly, the act of sacrifice was intended verily to put the victim in the place of the worshipper, and verily to remove his sins and reconcile the god he worshipped to his erring servant. The deductions from these facts may be postponed; and a few words may conclude the present Lecture.

He that walks through the vast Pantheon of heathen worship, with its strange altars and fantastic rites, will behold on every side the smoke of sacrifices and the steam of blood rising up, and the horrors of voluntary self-torture often added by the worshipper to attest the truth of his prayer to God for pardon. And did we say that a feeling of pity should arise at this spectacle? Pity

may become the man who has found real peace in God, when he looks around on those who seek and find it not. Pity may suit him who has offered his whole being a sacrifice to the common Father of himself and his suffering Redeemer, and is crucifying and slaying all low wicked habits, all lust and indolence, all pride and vanity, scorn and ill-temper, because they suit not the companions of Jesus. He can truly feel for the needs of the people that walk in darkness and see not the great light: what was wanting to Eastern asceticism, and Grecian culture, and Alexandrian theosophy, and the sacred cruelties of barbarous tribes, he knows by comparing them with truth already realised in his own regenerate nature. But us? does pity suit some of us, who are lapped in indolence, who pamper sense, who know no self-sacrifice, who put a meagre and aimless culture of the mind in place of the earnest worship of the changed heart, who talk daily of a Redeemer that out of his exceeding love overcame the sharpness of death, yet do no acts of love, nor cheer any human soul with the light of our sympathy? Before a right-judging Being, perhaps those priests of Baal, gashing themselves after their manner with knives and lancets, and dancing

round their desolate altar in mad fervour, may rise up in judgment with us and our self-indulgence, and condemn us. Because the idolaters have forsaken God, and have burned incense to other gods, therefore his wrath shall be kindled against them; but what shall be done to the thoroughly godless, who offer neither the incense of prayer nor the sacrifice of duty to the Most High? Life to them must be the beginning of destruction, since nothing but God and that which pleases him can permanently exist.

And yet of those who thus devote themselves to death, and sit crouching in the chains of sensuality or idleness, there are many whom God calls on still to stand erect and free, the soldiers and servants of his Son, the conquerors in temptation, the light and salt of the world. Why yield we so easily to our special temptations? Why recognise sin as a law of nature? Why stand we idle till this tedious stream of folly shall run itself dry, and let us pass and go our way? Is it that the Christian scheme, alone of all religions, proposes no efficient means of reconciliation with the Most High? If so, a great price was paid in vain, precious blood was spilt in vain. Cast we off this paralysing doubt. The Redeemer has not overcome temptation, hunger,

scorn, conspiracy, ingratitude, inward anguish, death and the grave, in order to leave us under their bondage. The power of sin is terrible; the solaces of sense are sweet; the pride of a mind conscious of its strength is hard to subdue. But the Lord that dwelleth on high is mightier; he “hath made the depths of the sea a way for the ransomed to pass over¹.” A life-long ministry of sacrifice, finished by the crucifixion, has bought for man freedom of conscience for the past, freedom of will for the future. Let no one say, “O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death^m?” without thanking God that he is delivered through Jesus Christ. If sin and selfishness are being cast out, and Christ being formed in us, and so the life we once led of ourselves is becoming hid with Christ in God, then Christ’s sacrifice is ours, though it cost us nothing; with his stripes we are healed, though he alone suffered them. And so when the Church, in the course of her services, calls us by-and-by to stand round the altar-steps of Calvary, and, after reciting all that was done to the Son of God, bids us “behold and see if there be any sorrow like unto his sorrowⁿ,” it will be well for each of

¹ Isa. li. 10.^m Rom. vii. 24.ⁿ Lament. i. 12.

us to question himself, to see whether he has the right to be a spectator of that immolation. What have we done to realise it? If we have no love to the poor, to our fellow-man whom we have seen, how can we understand the boundless love of him we have not seen? The Roman, dashing his breast against the spears, to save his country, were fitter to comprehend that sacrifice than we. The Indian, that wished he could bear the sins of the whole world, could teach us the meaning of the word *sympathy*. If we are well content to grow hard in sin, and care not that it has ever been washed away by expiatory blood, the death of Jesus can be little more to us than a common murder. The pagan, drawing near to his sacrifice, to be sprinkled with drops of blood from it, sought what we disdain. If we would appropriate to ourselves that love and that suffering, we must begin to crucify our own lower nature, to sacrifice selfish wishes, to long for union with God and for the guidance of his will; we must seek for methods of showing love towards others, by helping to heal the sick, by feeding the poor, by guiding weak companions right, by taking care that children are taught; in a word, by any means that can further social progress, and raise and com-

fort our fellow-men. For though we use the name of Christ, and assume that that name has raised us far above all that worship in any other, if we will not strive to know inwardly the work of Christ, if his sacrifice is not really working in us, that merciful and faithful High Priest, who has entered into heaven, to appear in the presence of God for men, will bring back no news of reconciliation for those who have not desired to hear them.

LECTURE III.

S. LUKE XXIV. 21.

But we trusted that it had been he which should have redeemed Israel.

WE cannot wonder that these two disciples, walking "toward evening" to Emmaus, were "sad^a," as they spoke together of the frustration of all their hopes of redemption for Israel. No man is master at all times of the consoling truth, that God lets nothing fall to the ground, that all his purposes must be fulfilled though sometimes by apparent failures. And this was only the third day since they had heard the blasphemy of the multitude against their Master, and seen Jew and Roman, forgetful of their natural hostility, conspiring together to take away his life. The cruel sufferings that followed, and the words he had uttered under them, and the death that ended them, had formed the subject of their thoughts and conversation. If the fury of the rulers had prevailed against

^a Luke xxiv. 17.

him, what could protect them from death ? If he could say to his Father “ why hast thou forsaken me,” how should not a sense of desertion and desolation sit heavily on their hearts ?

Let us suppose that some stranger had drawn near at that moment, and told them that he whom they had seen dying on the cross was alive ; that those eleven men whom the priests meant to crush were destined by God to speak words to which, not Israel only, but the ends of the earth, would listen till the end of time ; that a busy world would give up a seventh part of its days to listen to those words, and to worship in the name they preached ; that ages after the temple was destroyed, and the empire of Rome dismembered, the best, noblest, and wisest of the nations of the earth would make their boast of Christ, and be found to plant his opprobrious cross as an ornament upon the crown of their kings. Such words would have probably seemed but idle tales, to men so dejected ; and yet they are true. For God lets none of his purposes fall to the ground. And we, who have seen their fulfilment, cannot believe it was by chance that this least of seeds has grown up and sent out branches over the broad world ; that chance alone made

this man and this word mighty, and consigned many another teacher to destruction and silence. If then we think we trace forward from the resurrection of Christ the working of God's providence and counsels, let us not be afraid to trace it backward also, and to seek in the Jewish dispensation the preparation for our Lord's coming.

For a stranger did join these two disciples, and he took this latter mode of comfort. They were talking of the past; "we trusted that it had been he which should have redeemed Israel;" we knew that the prophets had promised redemption, and thought that he had brought it. And to the past did their Master appeal; "O fools, and slow of heart to believe all that the prophets have spoken: ought not Christ to have suffered these things, and to enter into his glory? And beginning at Moses and all the prophets, he expounded unto them in all the scriptures the things concerning himself."

To give an account, brief and slight, of the doctrine of the atonement, as it is foreshadowed in the Old Testament, will be the object of this Lecture, as the last was occupied with the signs and hints of the doctrine in the heathen systems.

The writers of the New Testament appeal

continually to the Old for confirmation of the truth they teach. If then it should appear that the tones of these two covenants are dissonant, and that the Mosaic system contains no hint or warning of the principal truths of the gospel—such as the coming of the Son of God in the fashion of a man, the reconciliation between God and man effected by the Son, the sufferings by which it was brought about, and his triumph over them—then the evidences of Christianity are fatally defective. For besides that the Christian apostles rely on this proof, and find in Moses and the Prophets and the Psalms things concerning the Messiah, it would be hard to persuade us that two systems, both claiming a divine origin, could differ so far, that one was utterly silent about those things which were the very heart and life of the other. But if we find that the Jewish dispensation is, beyond all pagan creeds, an ethical system, grounded upon the holiness of God and the dangers of sin and uncleanness; if it proposes to reconcile the pure God and sinful man, not by the maxims of an improved philosophy or the precepts of a holy law, but by outward acts of sacrifice; if, with increasing clearness, it affirms, almost from the beginning, that a single human agent must be concerned in the work

of redemption; if it assigns him titles and acts that would not suit a mere king or priest or prophet; if it attributes to him a height of triumph and a depth of suffering which could not meet in the person of any human leader, yet are found to belong to Jesus Christ—then the Old Testament would seem to embody the same ideas as the New, and so to confirm its truth.

The ritual system of the Mosaic law is intended to represent, in visible acts and things, man's entire dependance upon God, and God's hatred of sin. This is effected by punishments and by sacrifices; an offence wittingly committed is punished by death or by cutting off from the congregation; when the same offence is committed through ignorance, a sacrifice is accepted instead. The principle of the law was, that no sin was passed over, and even outward personal defilements were to be purged away by rites and offerings; in order that this people, lifting up its head from slavery, and going forth with Jehovah leading it into lands where strange idolatry, and horrible sins, and loathsome diseases prevailed, might be hedged in and kept unspotted, if that were possible, until the day of better things. Now every Jewish sacrifice had a real effect, and also

a symbolical meaning (38). It restored the worshipper to his position as a member of the divine polity, and so far was effectual ; and it set forth the universal truth that God must be reconciled to the sinner who has offended him, if he would save his soul alive ; but as it was impossible that the blood of bulls and goats should take away sins, and as no sacrifice was prescribed or allowed for heinous, wilful transgressions, this part of the sacrifice was symbolical only. The distinction between the real use of sacrifice, as preserving an erring member in the Theocracy, and its wider symbolical application, that for sin there must be atonement, is essential to a right understanding of the language of the Scriptures. For, on the one hand, we find Moses, armed with divine authority, commanding sacrifices to be made, without a hint that they are unreal or ineffectual ; on the other we read, “ it is not possible that the blood of bulls and of goats should take away sins. In burnt-offerings and sacrifices for sin thou hast had no pleasure ^b.” The blood of the victim *was* able to sanctify to the purifying of the flesh, but it could not purge the conscience from dead works to serve the living God. It really secured the

^b Heb. x. 4, 6.

rights and privileges of a Jewish citizen under Jehovah the king; it symbolically represented the offering of the Lamb without spot to God, to take away the sins, past and present, of malice or ignorance, of the whole human race. Now of the various Mosaic sacrifices, the thank-offering, the burnt-offering, the sin-offering, and the trespass-offering, we may select the sin-offering as that in which the meaning of sacrifices may be best studied. The burnt-offering was not made for a special sin, but as a general atonement for the worshipper^c. And it was accompanied by meat and drink-offerings, which had a meaning of their own, and expressed dependence on Jehovah for the daily comforts of life. The thank-offering was to express praise and dependence on God, rather than atonement. The trespass-offering so far resembled the sin-offering that it has been found difficult to agree upon the reason for the distinction which the law of God preserves between them (39). To the sin-offering then we may confine our attention at present. It is the offering made for a particular act of sin; and from it the meat and drink-offering are excluded, so that the principle of atonement can be studied apart from

^c Lev. i. 4, 9.

that of religious dependence. The prescription of the law concerning it is, that “if a soul shall sin through ignorance against any of the commandments of the Lord concerning things which ought not to be done, and shall do against any of them,” a bullock or a kid, according to the condition of the offender, is to be offered, and the transgressor is to lay his hand upon its head and slay it; and the priest is to sprinkle some of its blood upon prescribed places, and to burn on the altar certain parts of the carcase, whilst all the rest is to be consumed by fire without the camp. Other cautions are added in these words: “In the place where the burnt-offering is killed shall the sin-offering be killed before the Lord: it is most holy. The priest that offereth it for sin shall eat it: in the holy place shall it be eaten, in the court of the tabernacle of the congregation. Whatsoever shall touch the flesh thereof shall be holy: and when there is sprinkled of the blood thereof upon any garment, thou shalt wash that whereon it was sprinkled in the holy place. But the earthen vessel wherein it is sodden shall be broken: and if it be sodden in a brazen pot, it shall be both scoured, and rinsed in water. All the males among the priests shall eat thereof: it is most

holy ^d.” It is necessary to attend to these particulars, to understand the meaning of this act of sacrifice. The death and the sprinkling with blood convince us that this is not merely a present or tribute to Jehovah, as God and King; they recall the words, “The life of the flesh is in the blood: and I have given it to you upon the altar to make an atonement for your souls; for it is the blood that maketh atonement for the soul ^e.” As the victim is most holy, and every thing sprinkled with its blood, and every vessel it has touched, acquires a sacredness thereby, it is equally impossible to regard it as a mere political fine, paid in this case to Jehovah as the head of the Theocracy, as the citizens of less favoured states might have paid to their human rulers. Hardly a doubt can be entertained that the sin is here represented as passing from him that offers, to the victim; that the victim acquires a sacred character, and that its death and blood are the atonement or covering for the sin. Questions, however, yet remain. Some believe that the sin, by passing over to the victim, renders it unclean and accursed, and explain in the light of this supposition the washing of the garment touched by the blood, and the breaking or

^d Lev. vi. 25—29.

^e Lev. xvii. 11.

scouring of the vessels, and the burning of the rest of the carcase without the camp. Others refuse to admit this impurity; because the victim is described as "most holy," and because the priest is suffered to eat of the flesh, when a private person makes the sin-offering. Hence arise two theories. According to one, the victim is a substitute for the transgressor, carries his sin, and suffers death in his stead. According to the other, the sacrifice of the life of an animal is a mere symbol of the willing sacrifice of the carnal life of the worshipper, of all that is the seat of desire and selfishness, and opposition to God; and as this death is undergone in obedience to the law of God, it becomes the door of a real life, of a state of reconciliation with the Most High (40). It would hardly become one who had not made this difficult subject his peculiar study, to arbitrate between two views with which great names are associated. But acknowledging that the blood of the victim is not unclean or accursed, we need not allow that the theory of substitution is thus abandoned. Look at the great atonement these Mosaic rites prefigured, and you find, that though the sins of the world concentrated their consequences on the head of the divine victim,

though the weight of innumerable deaths lay upon the stone that covered his sepulchre, it was not possible that he could be holden of death. He died an accursed death, for “cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree^f ;” but he rose again because he was still “most holy.” Then why should you expect that the victim in the sin-offering should be accursed and unclean, when the blood is shed, and the reconcilment over? And may not the spirit of the two theories be combined into one? The transgressor laid his sin upon the victim’s head, and the blood that was shed washed it out; and as this life stood in the place of his life, it was a token that he wished to be dead indeed unto sin, and alive unto God. But if this interpretation seem at all questionable, let it be at least acknowledged, that the idea of sin taken away by an outward ritual act, and not by a mere reform of the will, shows itself in the sin-offering, as it does in other ceremonies of Jewish worship.

The great Day of Atonement deserves especial consideration, in connexion with our present subject. It was a high and solemn day, set apart to the reconcilment of Jehovah and the people of his covenant. On

^f Galatians iii. 13.

that day only, of all the year, did the whole people fast from evening to evening. On that day only did the high-priest enter into the Holy of Holies. Instead of the customary offering of a single animal for the sins of the people, two goats were provided, "alike," if we may follow a Jewish book, "in appearance, stature, and value, and even caught at the same time" (41), and between these two the burden of the sacrifice was divided. One was slain for the sins of the people, after the priest had made a separate sacrifice for his own; and then upon the head of the other, called the scapegoat, the sins of the people were solemnly laid, and the beast was sent forth into the wilderness carrying them away. On this solemn occasion, that which every sacrifice implied, namely, that the sins were atoned for, and so became, as it were, invisible to the eye of God, was here openly shown. The scapegoat went forth, and was lost and forgotten, in token that the sins were removed from sight and remembrance. When an act of worship so plain in its purpose was made the business of the most solemn season in the Jewish year, we are justified in holding that reconciliation by sacrifice was the key-note of the Mosaic worship.

The view that has been taken of the Day of Atonement would be disturbed if we were to understand the name translated in our English Bible by the word *scapegoat* to be in reality a name for Satan, or an evil spirit (42). We should then read that Aaron was to cast lots upon the two goats, "one lot for the Lord and one for Azazel" or the evil spirit; and this goat we must suppose was to be "presented alive before the Lord, to make an atonement with him, and to let him go" (*not* "for a scapegoat," but) "for Azazel into the wilderness^s." This rendering has been adopted by late Jewish and other writers, with various explanations; such as, that a gift was made to Satan, in order to blind his eyes, and prevent him from accusing the givers; or that it was not offered to Satan as a propitiation, but given over to him with the consent of God to be tormented; or that by the act of sending back the victim laden with sins to Satan, the Jews renounced the kingdom of darkness and its prince, and gave a symbolical expression to the truth, that he to whom God had vouchsafed reconciliation is free from the dominion of evil (43). But the two animals, so exactly similar, are surely parts of the same sacrifice; and if the one is

^s Lev. xvi. 8. 10. 26.

solemnly offered to Jehovah, we must suppose, with this reading, that the other was just as truly offered to Satan—a notion revolting to every pious Israelite, who believed that the greatest sin he could commit was to take glory and worship from Jehovah, and give it to another; nor can any parallel practice be found in the Old Testament. The use of the word Azazel in other writings, as a name for an evil spirit, is derived probably from these very passages, and so cannot prove any thing in a question affecting them; and many learned writers agree at length that the word should be rendered, not “for Azazel” but “for complete sending-away” or “removal.” The removal of the sin, then, from the eyes of him who saw the hearts of men, was represented by this, the chief atoning act of the Jewish law.

But signs are not wanting in the Old Testament, that though the bull and goat were slain, and the steam of blood and the smoke of incense were ever ascending to the throne of Jehovah, such means of reconciliation were felt to be insufficient and temporary. Insufficient; for what real power could there be in the blood of inferior creatures, to atone for the high and subtle sins of the human spirit? How could the smell of such

sacrifices delight the nostrils of the Most High, in whom both beast and man live and move and have their being? "I will take no bullock out of thy house, nor he-goats out of thy folds. For every beast of the forest is mine, and the cattle upon a thousand hills. I know all the fowls of the mountains: and the wild beasts of the field are mine. If I were hungry, I would not tell thee: for the world is mine, and the fulness thereof^b." And they were temporary, because they were offered for sins of ignorance committed by Jewish subjects of the Theocracy; whereas all men, Jews and Gentiles, needed reconciliation; all had fallen in Adam, and the promise to Abraham set forth a blessing to all the nations of the earth through his seed. And so, whilst the Jews were delivered over to the schooling and training of the Law of God, promises were uttered from time to time, which showed that some better thing was preparing for the world. In Abraham all the families of the earth were to be blessed, though the manner of the blessing was not explicitly set forthⁱ. Jacob's parting promise for Judah was, "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from

^b Psalm l. 9—12.

ⁱ Gen. xii. 3.

between his feet, until Shiloh come; and unto him shall the gathering of the people be^j.” Whether the name Shiloh be taken to signify “he to whom it (that is, the sceptre) belongs,” or “the child,” or “the author of peace,” (and all these have found supporters,) it certainly refers to a person whose coming was to be expected long before, and therefore was a great and important event. A merciless criticism, determined to blot out the name of the Messiah, and every trace of him, from the Old Testament, has endeavoured to assail this passage; but one fact at least is indisputable, that the Jews accepted it as entirely genuine, and applied it to the Messiah (44). Again, Moses the great lawgiver prepared the people for another guide—“The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a Prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me; unto him ye shall hearken^k.” If some would refer this to one or other of the Old Testament prophets, or to the whole of them collectively, the concluding words of the book of Deuteronomy will answer them—“There arose not a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses, whom the Lord knew face to face^l;” for the words “like unto me”

^j Gen. xlix. 10.^k Deut. xviii. 15.^l Ib. xxxiv. 10.

seem to refer to the degree of his inspiration and his preeminence among prophets. When we enter on the reign of David, the representations of the man that should come assume a twofold character ; they speak now of glory and now of humiliation. On the one hand there is the king set upon the holy hill of Zion, to whom the Lord hath said, “Thou art my son, this day have I begotten thee^m ;” whose soul would not be left in hell, who, as God’s Holy One, would not be suffered to see corruptionⁿ ; to whom the Lord said, “Sit thou on my right hand, till I make thy foes thy footstool^o ;” and, “Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek^p.” In strong contrast to this is the language of the twenty-second Psalm, “My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me ? All they that see me laugh me to scorn ; they shoot out the lip ; they shake the head, saying, He trusted on the Lord that he would deliver him : let him deliver him, seeing he delighted in him. . . . They pierced my hands and my feet. . . . They part my garments among them, and cast lots upon my vesture.” If these expressions of misery and dejection come from David’s lips, and apply in the first instance to him, some of

^m Psalm ii. 7. ⁿ Ib. xvi. 10. ^o Ib. ex. 1. ^p Ib. ex. 4.

them are stronger than his sufferings required, and we seem to be justified in giving them a second reference to the Messiah. For, just as in our blessed Lord's prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem, we find many predictions that can only be understood of the end of the world, and so we infer that two events, differing in date and magnitude, yet wrought by the same God, and similar in character, have been brought together, because the pictures of prophecy admit no perspective of time and place, so have many pious minds, in all ages of the Church, believed that the fortunes of David, the great God-fearing king, sorely tried and persecuted without any offence or cause of his, have been united in prophetic representations with the things that happened to a greater far, to the Messiah, born of David's seed, delighting, like him, to do the will of God, like him innocently persecuted. In later prophecy we find passages, too numerous to recite, in which Messiah is a king and deliverer, great in glory, yet at the same time great in suffering, and bringing blessings, not only upon the Jews, but upon Gentiles also. The pictures of his humiliation in particular are strongly drawn. In Isaiah we read, that "he shall not cry, nor lift up,

nor cause his voice to be heard in the street^o," although he is "for a light of the Gentiles; to open the blind eyes, to bring out the prisoners from the prison, and them that sit in darkness out of the prison-house." He is despised of men, abhorred of the nation, and a servant of rulers^p. He is to give his back to the smiters^q; his visage is to be marred more than any man, and his form more than the sons of men^r. He is "a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief; . . . he hath borne our griefs and carried our sorrows: yet we did esteem him stricken, smitten of God, and afflicted. But he was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities: the chastisement of our peace was upon him, and with his stripes we are healed; . . . the Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all; . . . he was cut off out of the land of the living; . . . and he made his grave with the wicked, and with the rich in his death; . . . he shall see of the travail of his soul, and shall be satisfied^s." Zechariah speaks the same mixed language: for Messiah is "just, and having salvation^t," yet "lowly and riding upon an ass, and upon a colt the foal of an ass; . . . he shall speak

^o Isa. xlii. 2, 6, 7. ^p Ib. xlix. 7. ^q Ib. l. 6. ^r Ib. lii. 14.

^s Ib. liii. 11.

^t Zech. ix. 9, 10.

peace unto the heathen, and his dominion shall be from sea to sea.” And yet the prophet bids the sword, “Awake against my shepherd, and against the man that is my fellow, saith the Lord of hosts^u.” And so Daniel mentions the cutting off of Messiah for the sins of the people^v.

Now is there any just and fair inquirer who can say that these representations do not coincide with those which the New Testament makes of our Redeemer? It is very true, that every one of the places I have quoted has been impugned on critical grounds; but it is also quite evident, that the objections made to them are for the most part suggested by a predetermination not to find any inspired promise in the Old Testament at all. On the lowest view, then, we have arrived at a coincidence between the Old Testament and the New, inasmuch as in both, a human being, eminent above all others, and dignified with titles that cannot apply to a mere man, is described as suffering much, and making himself a sacrifice. But, to take higher ground, if our belief is already sure that the mission of Christ and his apostles was divine, and their words truth, then we must believe that the Old Testament also contains the words

^u Zech. xiii. 7.

^v Dan. ix. 26.

of God, for Christ himself says that Moses wrote of him, and that because of what was written in the law of Moses and in the Prophets and in the Psalms, it behoved him to suffer and to rise from the dead on the third day. Or, conversely, if the words of the prophets show forth a truth which only God could have taught them, we must believe that Jesus, to whom they bore witness, was Lord and Christ. Difficulties indeed there are; but he will best encounter them, who, having found the teaching of our Lord about himself to be truth and strength and consolation, takes up the law and the prophets, expecting to find in that system out of which the Redeemer came forth, the voice and hand of God.

But those who would weaken the force of the passages that speak of a suffering Messiah rely most upon the fact, that at the time of our Lord's coming there was no clear expectation of the advent of such a Messiah. Now, since the acts and sufferings of our Lord do explain the prophecies in a clear and consistent manner, reconciling great glory and mightiness with great sufferings, this will be all the more striking, if such a fulfilment of them should prove to be unexpected even by those who were chosen as witnesses for Christ.

The contrast between a conquering prince and a man who must die for the sins of all, the Jews tried to explain by such devices as that theory of two Messiahs, one the son of David, to whom the glories of the kingdom belonged, and the other the son of Joseph, whose death was to be the cause of the mourning spoken of by Zechariah^w, "The land shall mourn, every family apart" (45). But if a more consistent explanation worked itself out unawares, in the life of Jesus of Nazareth, and those that aided in it, whether as his disciples or his persecutors, were either wholly unconscious or dimly conscious of what they did, surely the very oblivion into which the prophecies of suffering had fallen renders the fact more striking and decisive. If the marks of the true Messiah had been in every Jew's mind and upon every tongue, doubts would have been raised, whether prophecies so well known did not minister to their own fulfilment, whether the best-intentioned men would not naturally shape events according to their preconception of the course they ought to take. But there was no such preconception; and the gospel history, so far forth as the Apostles are concerned in it, cannot have been influenced by any such bias. Simeon indeed

^w Zech. xii. 12.

was waiting for the consolation of Israel ; and the Baptist saw in Christ “ the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world^x.” But even the Baptist could ask afterwards, “ Art thou he that should come, or do we look for another^y ?” And Peter could rebuke our Lord for foretelling that he must suffer and die^z. And the other disciples forsook him and fled, as if the first stroke of persecution was the deathblow to their hopes of redemption. We must acknowledge then that no sure and clear hope of a Messiah, such as Jesus proved himself to be, pervaded the Jewish mind at this time. But is that an argument that the prophets never gave grounds for such a hope ? Let us think what strange elements were fermenting in that heap of Jewish society, so soon to be burnt up, and its ashes scattered to the four corners of the earth. There was the Pharisee, who believed that every precept of the law had its appropriate reward, and that when his good and evil works were weighed against each other in the balance, the observance of one precept thrown into the scale would make all well with him and prolong his days : *he* will not dwell upon the atonement of the Messiah ; secure in his privileges as a child

^x John i. 29.^y Matt. xi. 3.^z Matt. xvi. 22.

of Abraham, skilled in the saving law, he needs it not (46). There is the Sadducee, who, if we may trust Josephus, abolished destiny from his system, and thought that a man's course is wholly in his own power, and that he is the author or destroyer of his own good; this pride of free-will is not likely to look for a Redeemer to set the will free (47). There was the pious Jew, whose hopes were cast down and confounded by the comparison of Israel's past splendour with her present shame, and who might think that the sceptre and the lawgiver were departed from Judah, when the stern eyes of an alien soldiery looked down from the tower of Antonia upon the very temple-worship, lest a despised superstition should venture to vindicate to itself a political existence in unpermitted ways. As nations since that time have forgotten their religion, and allowed sceptical inquiry, or violent social changes, or mere worldliness and money-getting, to obscure its truths, so did such influences as I have mentioned cheat the children of Israel of their hopes; and yet the written charter of those hopes remained and still remains.

But a few words shall conclude this bare and inadequate sketch of the design of the Old Testament. God lets none of his pur-

poses fall to the ground ; in his dealings with the Christian Church this truth is most conspicuously shown. For none of those who hear me can believe that the Church of Christ has built itself up without the determinate purpose and foreknowledge of God. The world cannot be like a garden in which the plants have been left to grow, and outgrow each other, from their own intrinsic force and life, without care or design. That we are not now worshipping in the name of Theudas, or Judas of Galilee, who rose up in the days of the taxing, or Simon Magus, or Mohammed, must be owing to something more than to their weakness ; none of us can admit that pantheistic view, and exclude the provident word and ordering hand of a wise God from the system of things. From the time of Abraham, the destiny of his descendants was foreknown, at least to God ; that from them should come a Saviour, a Teacher, a religion, to influence for good the whole world. The lamp of that promise has been floating down the stream of more than three thousand years ; and how many times has it escaped almost certain extinction ! In Egypt the hope of the human race seemed to be at the mercy of Pharaoh and his taskmasters. During the troubled period of the Judges.

Moabite, and Canaanite, and Midianite, and Ammonite were allowed to ride over the heads of Israel; and when the Philistines bore off the ark from Shiloh, the news went with the power of death to the heart of the aged priest and the woman in travail, that the glory was departed from Israel, for the ark of God was taken. When the Jews sat by the waters of Babylon, and refused to sing the Lord's song in a strange land, they wept because they doubted whether their feet should ever stand again in the gates of their beloved Jerusalem, and because the favour of God seemed withdrawn for ever. Later, when the iron heel of the Romans was on their neck, they little dreamt that the free feet of the messengers of the Son of David should yet be beautiful upon every mountain of the earth, bringing good tidings and publishing peace, and saying, Thy God reigneth. Neither the chosen people themselves, nor those that observed them, knew what the mighty God was working with them. And in spite of the rash verdict of Tacitus, that the Christians were hated for their flagitious acts, and the estimate of their doctrine which even the younger Pliny could form, that it was a perverse and immoderate superstition, God's promise was with it, and

it was doing its work of leavening the whole lump of human society (48).

But God's purpose runs through and dignifies every human life. As the Apostle could exhort his brethren to avoid the pollutions of sin, because their bodies were temples of the Holy Ghost^a, so may every one of us lift up his head at the thought that his life is part of the clay which the hand of the Creator is fashioning. Not that he will shape every one of us to great ends, but that there is no act of ours from this moment till our limbs relax in death, which shall not have its influence, small or great, and that directed by the Almighty, upon the future of the world and our race. And what carefulness this thought might work in us! We that made it almost a duty to be thoughtless, that determined, if it were possible, only to brush with our lips the froth of life, and by no means to drain the wine or taste the dregs, we are God's instruments. Are we sound instruments and true, or weak and frail, so as to break in the using? He that has asked himself this question, and realized this thought, will spend his life with reverent earnestness, because it is consecrated. Into that mind which God needs, he will not

^a 1 Corinthians vi. 19.

admit foolish opinions that he dare not examine, and low principles that he cannot avow ! He will be sober and watch, that he may discern the first call of duty, for duty is the name he gives to his allotted share of God's purpose. He will not plunge into riot and waste, lest this excellent gift of life should be spent in nursing a shattered frame, or quieting a peevish temper, or dodging the claims of impatient creditors, or shutting out the image of friends whose hopes he is frustrating. Oh, if we could bring God thus into the midst of us, by the ennobling consciousness that we lived our whole life for him ; if we could say heartily, "Lo, I come : in the volume of the book it is written of me, I delight to do thy will, O my God : yea, thy law is within my heart^b ;" then we should know true peace and true strength, and be conformed to him whom we call on as our Lord and Saviour, whose meat it was to do the will of him that sent him, and to finish his work.

^b Psalm xl. 7.

LECTURE IV.

S. LUKE XVII. 4.

I have glorified thee on the earth ; I have finished the work which thou gavest me to do.

WHEN the sceptre had almost departed from the Jewish people, and a foreign power, that knew not God, deposed his high-priests, exacted tribute from his people, and watched with an austere vigilance their worship and their dealings, men's eyes began to fail for looking so long and so vainly for the Prince and Deliverer promised by their prophets. At such a time Jesus of Nazareth was born into the world ; and the wonders that accompanied his birth attested, to those who knew them, that he was sent from God, and that his coming concerned the interest of the Jews and of all mankind. A twofold character was impressed upon his life from the beginning ; the weakness of man and the glory of God were dealt out to him without

measure. On the one hand, the mother, a weary wayfarer in a strange town, lays her newborn infant in a manger, because there is no room in the inn, and presently flees with it into Egypt for fear of the cruelty of Herod the king, who sought its life. With these signs of human weakness began the life of him, who afterwards was "led up of the Spirit into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil^a," as any man is tempted, who fled from the plots of his enemies, as men flee, who felt and showed a man's compassion on the hungry, and a man's love for his friend, and a human indignation and grief at the hardness of men's hearts, who let fall warm tears of human sympathy at the graveside, who in his agony seemed to shrink from that cup which yet he knew it was his Father's will that he should drink. So far the Gospels unfold to us the life of a man; no one wondered to see him at the marriage in Cana of Galilee; Nicodemus came to him by night without any preternatural awe or terror, to open out his doubts and difficulties; Lazarus and his sisters numbered him as one upon the list of their friends; it seemed to John the Evangelist no profane or perilous familiarity to lean

^a Matt. iv. 1.

upon his breast at supper. But, on the other hand, his birth, which was not after the manner of men, caused the king to tremble on his throne; wise men from the East, the firstfruits of the Gentiles, were directed to the manger where he was, and laid their tribute before it, as if it were a royal seat; an angel brought to the shepherds the glad tidings of great joy that a Saviour was born unto them. The spirits of the principal actors in this history were stirred by the Holy Spirit; and Mary and Zacharias, Simeon and Anna, declared, in words of prophetic insight, the counsels of God. A life so marvellously begun was marked by mighty signs and wonders to the end. The weak limbs received strength, eyes and ears were opened, the tongues of the dumb were loosened, food was increased in the wilderness for the hungry multitudes, the dead maiden rose from her bed and the widow's son from his bier, and Lazarus from his sepulchre, in order that all might see that here was one whose power was boundless as his love was wide and deep; that one who could command the wind and sea, and even arrest the subtle agent that waits to decompose every living body into its primitive dust, was akin to the Almighty Father,

who made wind and sea and life and death. Hard as it is to admit that one who walked in streets and markets with finite creatures like ourselves was the only-begotten Son of the Infinite God, our blessed Lord asserts his claim to this dignity in words that admit of no escape. He declares that he and the Father are one^b; that he is in the Father as the Father in him^c; that he came down from heaven to do the Father's will^d; that "God so loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life^e;" that all judgment is committed unto him, the Son, even all things are delivered unto him. When the Jews persecuted him for working a miracle on the Sabbath-day, he "answered them, My Father worketh hitherto, and I work^f." What claim could be bolder, what upon the low views then prevalent could be more blasphemous, than that a man should claim the right to work upon the Sabbath-day, because God the Father sends forth the sun, and lights up the stars, and bids the birds sing, and the lions roar after their prey, upon that day as upon others? To defend himself by pleading

^b John x. 30. ^c Ib. xiv. 11. ^d Ib. vi. 38. ^e Ib. iii. 16.

^f Ib. v. 17.

the example of God the Father is surely, as the Jews understood it, to make himself equal with God. And those words, at which some have been offended,—“My Father is greater than I,”—are a strong evidence, when rightly weighed, for the divine nature of our Redeemer. There can be no comparison without a likeness; and the difference between the highest and purest finite nature and the nature of God himself, between a creature and the Creator, is so vast, that no common term can comprehend them. No man says, gold is more precious than stubble, or the rocks are firmer than the sea, or the man is wiser than the gibbering ape; yet these apparent contrasts almost appear identities by the side of the monstrous comparison—the Almighty, Eternal, Omniscient Spirit is greater than the creature he has made with the breath of his mouth! But in fact the words in question have no such meaning. “If ye loved me, ye would rejoice, because I said, I go unto the Father: for my Father is greater than I.” They would rejoice, because at present the Father is exalted high in heaven, and the Son is bowed in humiliation upon the earth; they would rejoice, if they loved him, that he was

to resume the glory and majesty he had laid aside in taking the form of a servant. The Father is greater, but, after the resurrection and ascension, the Son shall sit upon the Father's right hand, for they are one (49).

It is this divine Person that the Evangelists put before us. It is one who is called with equal truth by two names—the Son of God and the Son of man. Jesus is the Son of God naturally, because in him the fulness of the Godhead dwells, and therefore his name is Immanuel, God with us. He is the Son of God ethically, because he came down from heaven, not to do his own will, but the will of him that sent him; and amidst a people that showed they were not Abraham's children by their lack of Abraham's faith, he showed himself the Son of God by his zeal for God and his spotless purity, and therefore in him was the Father well pleased. Lastly, he is the Son of God by his office, for this was the title accorded by the Jews to the expected Messiah^h, and it applied to him more truly than they knew. If they expected a Prince, upon whose conquering sword and potent sceptre the favour of God should sit, and who should be, like David, a man after God's own heart, our Redeemer

^h Matt. iv. 3; viii. 29; John x. 36, &c.

was God himself manifest in the flesh, with God's power, knowledge, and wisdom hid within him, prepared to conquer on men's behalf the powers of hell and death (50).

The name—the Son of man—belongs not less rightly to Jesus. It is the name by which he sums up all the work of the Messiah, and reminds those who see his wonders that the doer of them has become a man. That it is never used by others as a name for Jesus, except, I believe, in three placesⁱ, where his glory is spoken of in the same breath, is but natural. For it is a term of humiliation; it puts forward the sorrows he must undergo, the contradiction of sinners he exposes himself to, the death he must endure, before he can sit again upon the right hand of the Father. “The Son of man hath not where to lay his head^k.” “The Son of man is betrayed into the hands of sinners^l.” “Whosoever therefore shall be ashamed of me and of my words of him also shall the Son of man be ashamed, when he cometh in the glory of his Father with the holy angels^m”. Yet in the mouth of our Lord himself it is no mere expression of humility, used to give confidence to the

ⁱ Acts vii. 56; Rev. i. 13. xiv. 14. ^k Matt. viii. 20.

^l Matt. xxvi. 45. ^m Mark viii. 38.

disciples, but it is an official name, by which the disciples, if not before his removal, at least after it, might be reminded of his true humanity, of his sympathy with their sorrows and shortcomings, of the reality of his crucifixion, and of his exaltation to the glory he had with the Father before the world was (51). Now if the four Gospels, or any one of them, have any historical authority, we cannot refuse to assign to Jesus Christ this twofold character. He is the God-man (52). He is one who does and feels as a man, whilst yet his own mouth, and voices from heaven, and miracles on earth, and the wonder of adoring followers, bear witness that he is more than man, and partaker of the divine nature. His divine character does not rest only on those sublime discourses with which John, the last of the Evangelists, completed the historical detail, more largely supplied by the three other inspired writers. If that Gospel be put aside, and the issue determined upon the remaining three, the use of those two names, the Son of God and the Son of man, by these writers would be evidence sufficient. It is too true that the historical character of all the Gospels is denied: but our present argument requires an accurate estimate of what is found there, as one means

of deciding upon their historical weight. And why has this stranger visited his people that know him not? Not to give them a law more elaborate than the Mosaic; not to enlarge the borders of Jewish philosophy, that it may rival the culture of Greece; not to make Jerusalem the centre of a world-wide empire, like Rome; not even to refine and elevate them by the precepts of a pure morality, though here, as in all things, he showed himself to be divine. It was to do in his own person a great work. The first days of his ministry were devoted to proving that he was the Messiah, and when he had gathered to himself the regards of men, and his question, "Whom do men say that I the Son of man am?" was answered by a confession that he was indeed the expected Christ, he then began to unfold to them the purport of the second part of his ministry, "that he must suffer many things of the elders, and chief priests and scribes, and be killed, and be raised again the third day." We cannot deny that his ministry, as described by the three synoptical evangelists, divides itself into two parts; that the baptism is the inauguration of the one, and the transfiguration of the other; that the actions and teaching of the former part are a commentary upon the text

that Jesus is the Christ of God, as those of the latter are upon the truth that Christ must suffer many things; and that he himself connects the two together; for it is not till he has inquired how men have understood the former, that he unfolds the latter to his disciples(53). But is there in this any thing unnatural? We have seen already that the belief in a suffering Messiah was not likely to be palatable to the Jews in general at that time. To a people steeped in suffering already, over whom it seemed that all God's waves and storms had gone, to a proud and aristocratic people, reduced to skulk under the shadow of Roman toleration, and afraid to stir lest their oppressors should come and take away their place and nation; it had been a bitter mockery to have said without preparation, "Here is one that will suffer for you." Visions of glory and conquest, if we may argue from those two well-known passages of Suetonius and Tacitus(54), enlightened their dejection even yet; it was a delicate task, requiring the tender love and patience of Jesus Christ, to bring down that proud hope, and substitute a better and more spiritual longing. And so the former part of his ministry exhibited a warfare, not against flesh and blood, but against sin and evil; he did

not, like the Maccabæan chief, strike a blow for God against the oppressor, and flee to set up his standard in the mountains, but he strove to breathe into them another spirit, and to arm them with weapons of another temper, that they might fight with the sword of faith and pity against sin and evil in the world, and might learn by degrees that it mattered not who should redeem their earthly state, and repair the broken walls of Jerusalem, if their souls were redeemed from the power of sin and Satan, and their seats made sure in a better city with eternal foundations. It was most natural to revive in the hearts of the disciples right notions of the Messiah, who was to “preach good tidings unto the meek to bind up the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are boundⁿ,” before he dwelt on the mystery, also fore-shewn by prophets and forgotten by the people, that he should be wounded for our transgressions, and bruised for our iniquities, that with his stripes we should be healed.

Now it is urged by objectors, that although the three Evangelists describe Jesus as predicting his death, they do not represent him as putting forward with equal clearness

ⁿ Isa. lxi. 1.

its atoning virtue; that only in St. John do we find this doctrine brought prominently forward. (55) Let it be conceded at once that the harmony of the New Testament is made up of different tones; that whilst all the inspired writers unfold the same great transaction of our Redemption, the three synoptical Evangelists dwell most upon Jesus as the Christ or Messiah of the Old Testament, St. John upon the objective fact, that the divine word became flesh, and St. Paul, viewing the same work under a subjective light, holds up the Gospel as a deliverance for the human spirit, under bondage to sin, which the Law could not deliver. But here the concession ends. In all the Gospels is Christ proclaimed as the sacrifice for the sins of the people. In St. Matthew and St. Mark he points to his own example, to teach his disciples humility and self-devotion, with the words, "Even the Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom (λύτρον) for many°." But besides this express assertion, the implications of the same truth are neither few nor obscure. It was just after the disciples had confessed by the mouth of Peter that he was the Christ, the Son of the living God, that he

° Mark x. 45; Matt. xx. 28.

told them (to use the words of Matthew) that he “must go unto Jerusalem, and suffer many things of the elders and chief priests and scribes, and be killed, and be raised again the third day^p ;” and if Mark and Luke were silent, this must mean that the sufferings must be endured as part of the Messianic course and office ; and as the Messiah was understood by all to be the anointed Redeemer, his sufferings were part of the plan of redemption. But in the parallel places, in the Gospels of Mark and Luke^q, it is said, that “*the Son of man* must suffer many things,” and this use of one of the names of Messiah brings out the same meaning more distinctly still. In another prediction all three Evangelists agree in using this title, “the Son of man shall be betrayed into the hands of men^r.” And this is repeated more than once at intervals until the time of his offering up. In all the Gospels, then, it may be fairly said, we find it asserted by our Lord himself, that he, as the anointed Redeemer of his people, must suffer death, and must rise again, for them.

And if it were not so, surely we should not be invited to study so minutely all the bitter wrongs and pains that he underwent. His-

^p Matt. xvi. 21.

^q Mark vii. 31 ; Luke ix. 22.

^r Matt. xvii. 22 ; Mark ix. 31 ; Luke ix. 44.

tory does not delight in the anatomy of suffering; except for special uses, she does not call us to note the ravages of sickness, its peevishness, its wanderings, its loathsomeness; nor carry us over a field of battle, to show us the writhings and ravings of the wounded. The Gospels themselves pass over, for the most part, such painful details; whilst it would have been easy to harass the mind with an account of the foulness and the desolate way of life of the ten lepers, or the desperate affliction of the widow following her only son and support to the grave, the briefest and simplest language is found sufficient. Where details are added, it is to enhance the wonder of a miracle, or to give a more distinct representation of a scene we are to be present at; and never to excite pain or horror. Why? Because the mere passive contemplation of suffering which we cannot stir to relieve, which is not to call upon us for any active exertion or resolve, hardens the mind rather than softens it; because the feeling of pity should not be rashly excited by scenes beyond the sphere of moral action (56). And yet in describing the sufferings of the Son of God, the minutest circumstance is recorded, the share of every agent in that crime is duly apportioned, no

curtain is let fall over the darker acts of the drama out of regard to the spectator's feelings. It is because the Evangelists mean to say, "Come and see what was done for you and because of you. Look upon this sorrow, and see if there has been any like it. Is it nothing to you, ye that pass by? He is bearing your griefs, he is carrying your sorrows. Beware, lest by new sins you seem to crucify him afresh."

With this abiding consciousness of sin let us approach the study of our Lord's sacrifice. It is the Son of God, as he tells us himself, that has been betrayed into the hands of sinners. They smite him on the face, they mock him, they bid him prophesy to make them sport, they clothe him with the purple trappings of a stage-king, they weigh him against a robber and a rebel, Barabbas, and find him more worthy of death. For the sins of mankind was that august face assailed, which even the angels look on with reverence; for us was he mocked, who shall soon be a King indeed, throned at the right hand of the Father; for us was he condemned to crucifixion by the acclamations of the people, and the robber released. Again, it is the Son of man whom they have taken, the one chosen man that was

to fill the office of Prophet, Priest, and King, for whom Moses' seat, and Melchizedek's priesthood, and David's throne were prepared. Yet the man seems chosen only to be a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief. The thorns pierce his brow, and the stripes lacerate his flesh, and the heavy cross bears him down, as he carries it, and the protracted agonies of a most painful death complete the sacrifice. All this was done for us, that we might be healed, free, immortal. There is yet one kind of sufferings on which holy Scripture scarcely allows us to look. What was it that sent the Redeemer so often apart to pray? what was that great agony that wrung from him sweat like drops of blood? What was it that made him cry, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" Not physical terror, nor physical suffering, but a clear consciousness of the sins he was to bear. A son's ruin brings a father's grey hairs in sorrow to the grave; a daughter's downfall covers a mother with shame and grief; yet these tender human sympathies are weak and contracted beside that sympathy which one with the feelings of a man, untainted by sin and selfishness, and with the knowledge and insight of God himself, felt for the fallen state of mankind.

The sins and consequent sufferings of the human race poured their black and bitter waters in a flood over his soul in the garden of Gethsemane and on the tree of Calvary; and in those sins ours too were reckoned.

Now it will be said that the possibility and actuality of a vicarious atonement have been assumed. The discussion of these points must be deferred. In the present Lecture all that has been gained is *the fact* that an atoning efficacy is assigned to the death of Christ; the nature and grounds of the fact, so far at least as the understanding is fit to deal with them, will occupy the succeeding Lecture. But it seems important to show, that either the death of Christ has actually, as the Gospels affirm, an effect in which all mankind are concerned, and if so, it should be studied in a spirit of reverence and humility, or that it has no such effect, and if so, the Gospels are to that extent false, and their account is unworthy to be studied at all. The divine origin and mission of Jesus, his power to work miracles, the influence of his life and death over the position of the whole human race before God, are doctrines which so colour the warp and woof of the Gospels, that they cannot be washed out without destroying the whole

texture. And the choice which faith has to make lies in this alternative:—if Jesus be the Lord he claims to be, we should follow him; if not, if his own words are a delusion, or if the Evangelists have put into his mouth what he never uttered, we cannot follow him, because we can no longer learn from him the message of peace. This plain language is not superfluous. A criticism has long been at work upon the Gospels which will neither follow Christ nor forsake him, which professes to found religion on the Bible, yet transforms every historical fact written there, which deals with such topics as the salvation of men through the blood of Jesus with a colder spirit and temper than a Kepler carried even into the calm regions of astronomy. When we hear that Christ's teaching about his death was but an after-thought, or that his miracles, discourses, agony, and resurrection never in fact took place at all, are we not justified in warning all to choose between a humble acceptance of our Lord's teaching as to himself, and a total avoidance of the subject? For when we have walked with irreverent feet in that holy Temple, which to many millions of hearts Christianity has been and yet shall be; when we have thrown down its altar, and

set there the abomination of desolation; when we have taken away Christ from it, and left in his stead a mistaken man, compared with whom Mohammed was truthful and accurate, or an idea which might as well have taken Apollonius or Socrates for its historical ground as our blessed Lord, perchance a deeper and more reverent view of it may dawn on us afterwards, when the needs of our heart are greater and the pride of our ingenuity less; and we shall bitterly regret that we did not pass by in silence that which we could not credit, that we hardened our own hearts, and confounded the faith of others, in trying to find under the words of God things not written there.

But to give a more precise form to this warning, it may be necessary, however painful, to exhibit specimens of the criticisms to which I have alluded. According to one view (57), Jesus began to teach, believing that he was the Messiah, and yet desiring to wean the Jews from those political views which almost all of them had associated with that name. He announced, in the sermon on the mount, that it was for the sake of the meek and the merciful, for all who hungered and thirsted after righteousness, that he was come, and not for those who sought a civil

revolution. Conscious of the purity of his intentions, and, like all men of high and innocent mind, taking a favourable view of the character of others, he believed that by degrees all men, except a few hardened Pharisees, would come over to the deeper and truer views of the Messiah's kingdom which he put forward. In this expectation he told the apostles when he sent them forth, that before they had gone over the cities of Israel his kingdom would be acknowledged and established. But neither the disciples nor the people understood him; the former wondered at his miracles and his eloquence, without apprehending their purpose; and the latter could not relinquish the popular views as to the Messiah's kingdom. Hence either the attempt must be abandoned entirely, or some concession made to their weakness. If he had continued to assert that he came to found a religious society having men's salvation for its sole object, and that every hope of a Messianic kingdom must be abandoned, no one would have believed him. He therefore placed the reign of Messiah in the future; he promised them the sight of a kingdom, with glory and happiness for the lot of its subjects, and condemnation and confusion for its enemies; in the hope that this pro-

spect would induce them to follow his precepts for the present. But even here he failed; and there was reason to fear that when the promises for the future remained unfulfilled, the disciples might complain of fraud and deceit. Then did Jesus see the necessity for his own death; if he were removed from them, all hope of a temporal kingdom must end, and the thoughts of his followers would be fixed upon his spiritual precepts more firmly. The disappointment of his hopes for his people brought such bitter affliction with it, that death seemed even desirable, as a departure from a land where all was strange, where men were perverse, blind, and malicious, to a home in heaven. Nor was it necessary to seek death; the alarm of the priests and Pharisees at the influence of a teacher who seemed to threaten the destruction of their law, was already preparing it, so that it might have been impossible to escape. Our Lord's own words are explained into accordance with this theory. We are told that he nowhere asserts distinctly that his death has a piacular virtue, a power of atonement. The apostles, indeed, ascribe such a power, but then here, as in other matters, they misunderstood their Master's meaning. But it is still desirable

to hold up to the eyes of mankind the death of Jesus as a symbol and example of exalted self-sacrifice, and his life as a pattern of devotion, as a life of which every moment was dedicated to God.

Is it possible that the noblest men, and the wisest nations of the earth, consent to bear, in the word *Christian*, the name of such a teacher as this theory describes? We are told that he commenced his ministry with high hopes, only formed to be frustrated; that he promised the establishment of a kingdom when he could not expect it, only to gain the ear of the people; that his death was not resolved on or announced until a high-souled disgust at their unbelief took possession of him, as if he had entered on a warfare of which he had not counted the cost; that such a resolution was less difficult, because, in fact, death was inevitable. If it were possible to believe this; if the Master at our head was but a well-meaning person, not superior to circumstances, not quite innocent of deceit, helped in his resolute self-sacrifice by the suspicion that there was no escape from it; if his claims to power over the salvation of other men, to existence from eternity with the Father, to supernatural knowledge and in-

spiration, were all grounded in delusion, you would reject the name of Christian, and refuse to bear the name of one devoted man to the exclusion of all other philosophers, saints, and martyrs, whose self-sacrifice may differ in degree, but differs not in kind from his. In Socrates there was the same self-devotion, aye, and for the same motive, a wish to serve the eternal laws of God (58), joined to a far juster view of his own pretensions. Christian martyrs have willingly faced death before it was inevitable, when a word of abjuration and a knee bent before an idol's shrine would have saved them. But when we inquire what this enormous perversion of the facts of the New Testament rests on, there is but one fact, and that is, that Jesus did not announce his passion until he had taught and wrought miracles for some time ; which has already been accounted for, on the ground of the preparation required for the doctrine of a suffering Messiah^s. And on this quaking foundation the whole superstructure has been reared. Jesus professed himself to be the Messiah before the people in the sermon on the mount, to his disciples, to the Samaritan woman, to the high-priest, to Pilate, to God himself in solemn prayer ;

^s See page 96.

he spoke of his death as a necessary part of his work, as a ransom for many, as tending to the remission of sins. If these assertions have no more historical value than this theory awards them ; if they are delusions, accommodations, and after-thoughts, then that hope which lifted up the eyes and hearts of the sinful, that here was one with power to tear off the clinging sin and work forgiveness for them before God the holy and just, is utterly quenched. If he foresaw not, save by degrees, the course of his own short ministry, how should his merciful eye fall upon you and me through the gloom and confusion of the ages ? When the comforts and promises to be found in the Gospel dwindle down to this, it will be time to turn away from its pages ; for if such views are true, and we are forced to adopt a religion reconstructed from the Bible by ourselves, the blessing of a revelation, that it is something fixed, without us, upon which our minds may lean, is taken away ; but if the views are false, and it is, after all, the very handwriting of God that we are defacing, we incur all the perils of them that fight against God. But where the study of the word of God has been carried on in the hope of finding there a true scheme of mediation be-

tween God's holiness and man's deep-felt unworthiness, there will be little fear of desisting from an inquiry, thus earnestly begun, for want of an adequate answer: "Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life. And we believe and are sure that thou art that Christ, the Son of the living God^t."

Another scheme, hostile to the doctrine of redemption, not likely to be adopted in this country as a whole, yet still exercising a partial influence, sometimes where least suspected, should not be passed over here in silence, though it is impossible to do it justice in a few words(59). Professing to enter upon the criticism of the Gospels without any religious prejudice, the author we are now considering avowedly assumes that miracles are impossible. To what then are we to ascribe the accounts of miracles in the Gospels? Not to wilful perversion of truth on the part of the narrators, nor to mere exaggeration of facts, such as ignorant and admiring spectators are often guilty of. We are to regard the gospel history as containing facts narrated so as to suit certain ideas. It is partly mythical and partly legendary(60). Where something narrated as a fact has sprung

^t John vi. 68, 69.

out of an idea, the account is mythical; as when, to take an example from profane writings, the old poet makes Ether and Daylight the children of Erebus and Night, the fact is a mere expression of the idea, that light sprang out of darkness. Where, on the other hand, real persons or acts are described, but in connexion with some ideas, which have influenced the narrative, its character is legendary; of this the life of Pythagoras might serve as an example. In the Gospels, this author ventures to say, we shall find both characters; narratives in which it is vain to look for any historical ground at all, but which are valuable, as showing the idea which the Church of the first century formed about Christ; and narratives which have a historical element, coloured however, and perverted more or less, by the same idea. Rules may be given by which to distinguish a mythical from a historical narrative: where it is incompatible with fixed natural laws, where the succession of events in it is abrupt and startling, where it is at variance with other narratives, where its form is poetic, where it accords strikingly with ideas prevalent at the time it was written, where it stands in connexion with other accounts more palpably mythical, we ought to pronounce it,

especially if it unites several of these marks, to be unhistorical. But as the really historical portion is difficult of separation from the rest, and as it is so slight as to have little connexion with the high teaching of the apostles, and the faith of the early Church, we do not wonder to find that other supporters of the mythical theory have discarded it altogether (61). And so the Gospels contain, on this view, not the facts connected with man's redemption, but man's religious ideas and tendencies projected into facts. The predicates assigned to Jesus of Nazareth in the Gospels can only be assigned truly to the whole human species, of which he is the ideal. The human race, the union of eternal spirit with perishable flesh and matter, presents the true incarnation; the conquest of mind over matter is the true working of miracles; if the individual man exhibits sin and error, the progress of the whole species does not, so that it may truly be termed sinless; and in its perpetual and gradual elevation, out of material into spiritual life, we see the death, resurrection, and ascension, which the Gospels mythically represent. Such is the theory; which must appear, when exhibited in a bare analysis, and apart from the views of the school of philosophy in which it grew

up, an insane invention, but which has been enforced, I am bound to say, with great learning and power of argument. But professing to be a deathblow to prejudice and credulity, it is full of a credulity and a prejudice of its own. Others have shown already, that the result of this argument is to exhibit Christianity as the only effect without a cause(62). The character of the Lord Jesus, on which the good of all ages have gazed with admiration, in which the bad and hostile have found nothing to blame, was formed, on this theory, from the ideas of a few illiterate persons; his life from a concurrence, almost fortuitous, of Biblical, Rabbinical, Greek and Alexandrine stories; and his divine teaching, with its elements, entirely new, of love, humility, submission, a regard for the whole human race, took its form out of the same inadequate materials. A man can be found to believe this, who cannot on any evidence be brought to believe a miracle! Others have shown that there is no history so recent and well-attested, that similar reasoning cannot impugn it; so that, if such principles prevail, historical study is at an end. They have shown that the question is not a purely theological one, but in fact a contention on the part of a so-called philosophy for the

mastery over history. They have pointed out the gross dishonesty of teaching the people at large to believe that the Gospels are a history, as this author proposes, whilst the philosopher believes them not ; so that in one Church there would be two religions (63). Let *me* only ask that those three principles of our consciousness, examined in my first Lecture, may be applied to this mythical view—the belief in God, the consciousness of sin, and the hope of reconciliation. Instead of a righteous and loving Father, who hates sin, yet loves us sinners, we have here a picture of the human species perfecting itself, and no mention of a personal God ; instead of a word of comfort to the conscience-stricken sinner in the news of a reconciliation wrought for him, the work and the person of the Saviour are resolved into a machinery of ideas, and individual redemption vanishes in general perfectibility. When scepticism disturbs, if only for a moment, our confidence in any part of the sacred records, it is time to recur to the evidence of our own consciousness in their favour. Do we need a Redeemer ? This question we have tried to answer in the affirmative. Is the Redeemer described in the Bible suited to our need ? The

answer to this question remains to be given.

Meantime it has been shown that Jesus claims for himself a power and an office more than belongs even to the highest of men ; and that if we would examine whether the claim is just, we ought at least to approach the subject with reverence. The Bible nowhere says that an irreverent spirit can recognise the divinity of Christ ; it tells you that he was despised, humiliated, in the form of a servant. In so great an issue let us comply with all the conditions of success : let it be our will to find God, but not to prescribe or alter the method of finding him. Is this a needless caution ? In an age when new systems of Christology are thrown off like new vases from a potter's wheel (64) ; when poets hesitate not to achieve a cheap sublimity by weaving freely into their rhymes and conceits the great ineffable name and the great secrets of the Holy of Holies (65) ; when God is rather sought without us, in the beautiful universe, than within us, in the admonitions of conscience (66) ; when the positive results of science, so brilliant, so indisputable, tend to cast all probable and historical evidence somewhat into shade (67) ; it would be false to pretend that right religious views are easy to find and keep.

The doctrine of Christ crucified has always appeared foolishness to the hasty and irreverent ear; we only hope to prove that it is reasonable to those who will listen to that within them, which, if not loudest, is best; to that voice which declares that God is, and is a rewarder of all men according to their works, and which accuses all of sin before him. Let us say to ourselves, "The Lord Christ is a teacher who claims to speak the very mind of God. Before we reject his mission, or pretend to alter and explain his message, it is but reverent to hear and ponder it. If our hearts feel, as the hearts of many faithful ones from the Apostles' time have, that what the law could not do, what philosophic systems cannot do, it really effects, in giving us an assured hope of reconciliation with the Father, why should we let this anchor of the soul go, to drift over we know not what seas of uncertainty?" God's word for man's salvation does not, it is true, flash upon us in the lightning, nor shake terribly the earth beneath our feet; many have heard it without recognising God in it, many more have recognised and yet forgotten him, "that the thoughts of many hearts might be revealed". And yet the open ear can always hear; he that desires to

^u Luke ii. 35.

know God shall not be prevented by the confusion of jarring systems or the self-confidence that knowledge and unchecked prosperity diffuse through a nation. Considering then what is at stake—the hopes of the soul hereafter—let us approach this subject meekly and with reverence. “Take my yoke upon you,” says our Lord himself, “and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart: and ye shall find rest unto your souls^x.” “Seek the Lord,” says the Prophet, “all ye meek of the earth, which have wrought his judgments; seek righteousness, seek meekness: it may be ye shall be hid in the day of the Lord’s anger^y.”

^x Matt. xi. 29.

^y Zeph. ii. 3.

LECTURE V.

1 COR. I. 30, 31.

But of him are ye in Christ Jesus, who of God is made unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption ; That, according as it is written, He that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord.

THAT God is holy and just, yet at the same time full of love and compassion, might be proved on grounds of natural religion, if holy scripture were silent on the subject. His justice finds a feeble echo in our conscience, which when it relinquishes some pleasure or advantage, solely because it is sinful, feels that its self-approval corresponds to the approval of the great omniscient Spirit who created our finite spirit in his own image. The judge that sits upon the tribunal of the heart is indeed a deceiver, when he incites us to prefer duty to ease, or truth to gain, unless there is a greater judge, even the King of Saints, whose ways are just and true, to confirm his decrees ; and it would be

better to “enjoy the good things that are present,” and make “our strength the law of justice^a,” if duty and obedience were but names and wind, and there were in the void universe no king to care for, guard, and vindicate them (9). It is in this sense that St. Paul argues with the Corinthians, “If Christ be not raised, your faith is vain; ye are yet in your sins. Then they also which are fallen asleep in Christ are perished. If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable^b:” words which a recent writer has perverted into an admission that the course of duty has no pleasure in itself, but only in the prospect of reward (68). The great Apostle, we may be well assured, would have laboured to make men know the truth, even if eternal peace had been no part of the message, even if his preaching had been to receive no crown or reward, beyond the sweet consciousness that he was labouring for God and the truth. But he is striving to exclude the dreadful thought that their conscience, enlightened as they believed by the Holy Spirit, and thereby strengthened to sustain a great fight of afflictions, was after all grossly deceived, and nourished hopes that originated only in fancy or imposture.

^a Wisd. ii. 6. 11.

^b 1 Cor. xv. 17—19.

To have surrendered the amenities of life, social honour and advancement, the pleasures of study, the peace of home, the smiles of children, the tranquil retrospect of declining age, to have taken instead, labour and watching, and fasting and calumny, and stripes and imprisonment and death, in pursuit of an empty vision of truth, were to be indeed a spectacle to angels and to men, and a laughingstock to the whole world. Not in the loss of a future reward were they most miserable; but in the notion that conscience, which they obeyed as true, had cheated them, and that all their life had been adjusted to a false standard. Conscience then, as it appears, cannot become our law, unless we feel sure that its authority is grounded on the existence of a Being who loves righteousness and hates iniquity. And this argument will be found more convincing, on reflection, than that which rests on the examples of justice in the government of the world around us. It is true that punishment dogs the heels of sin; ruined fortunes follow imprudence; ruined health waits on sensual transgression; the father's crime stamps infamy and poverty on the children; misgovernment of a nation in one century or generation is rewarded by bloodshed, or famine, or pestilence in the

next. But still God's justice often moves in a circle too wide for our eyes to comprehend the whole ; what we regard as suffering may be punishment for some hidden or forgotten transgression, or, on the other hand, the seeming punishment may have no connexion with the sin of the individual. History is full of marks of the presence of a just God, though our powers of interpretation are limited. But to admit that men act upon the behests of conscience is to admit that they believe in a just Being, that loves holiness and hates iniquity ; and this mode of proof seems to me immediate, convincing, and open to every man who will reflect.

Natural religion can prove with no less clearness, that the same just God is also full of love and compassion. God leaves not himself without witness even among the Gentiles, when he does them good, and gives them rain from heaven, and fruitful seasons, filling their hearts with food and gladness^c. The world indeed is full of his goodness ; air, earth, and sea teem with life, and life to most creatures is but joy. The life-giving sun is made to rise on the evil and on the good, and the rain is sent on the just and on the unjust. And with this evidence of a

^c Acts xiv. 17.

bountiful and merciful Lord over them, even the most sinful men are apt to soothe their conscience with flattering anodynes, and to apply God's love to heal the wound which a conviction of his justice made. If we were to ask those who have had most opportunities of watching the souls of others in the hour of death, when the balance has to be struck, in anticipation of the coming scrutiny before the Judge of all the earth, they would tell us, that in most cases self-love has been so loud and active in crying, "Peace, peace" to the conscience, that it is difficult to revive a real belief in that truth, which yet is not denied in terms, that "there is no peace for the wicked."

If from reason we were to recur to Scripture, a hundred passages would prove to us that the two divine attributes of Justice and Love, however hard it may seem to conciliate them, are both to be assigned in the fullest measure to the Almighty. In these passages there can of course be no contradiction when they are duly weighed; but the contrasts are so startling as to awaken even the most thoughtless to the problem they involve. God keeps mercy for thousands, and forgives iniquity, transgression, and sin^d; he is gracious and

^d Exodus xxxiv. 7.

full of compassion, slow to anger, and of great mercy^e; and these are not the free expressions of poetry or rhetoric, but the words of the Spirit of truth, in which, too, our conscience will learn fully to acquiesce. Yet after such words it is hard to understand the description of the divine justice. “God’s power and his wrath is against all who forsake him^f.” “The eyes of the wicked shall see his destruction, and he shall drink of the wrath of the Almighty^g.” “In the hand of the Lord there is a cup, and the wine is red: it is full of mixture, and he poureth out the same; but the dregs thereof all the wicked of the earth shall wring them out and drink them^h.” “Fear him, who, after he hath killed, hath power to cast into hellⁱ.”

Now there is this difference between a contradiction and what has been called in philosophy an antinomy of reason, or, in religion, with somewhat less precision, a mystery, that in the former we have two propositions, which we know cannot be reconciled, and one of which must therefore be false, whilst in the latter there are two propositions that appear contradictory when they are brought together, although each can be

^e Psalm cxlv. 8. ^f Ezra viii. 22. ^g Job xxi. 20.

^h Psalm lxxv. 8.

ⁱ Luke xii. 5.

separately shown to be true. A contradiction requires a confession of positive error ; whereas an antinomy only suggests a sense of the imperfection of our understanding, which can comprehend two opposite results, and not the mode of reconciling them. This distinction is important as well in the study of revelation as in the region of natural religion and philosophy. The disputes about necessity and liberty, or, under another form, about the power of grace and individual responsibility ; the attempts to reconcile the omnipotence of God with the existence of evil ; or justification by faith with a future judgment according to our works ; the power of prayer with the unalterable decrees of God ; all these are questions in which we see cause to lament the shortness of our own vision, which is unable to reconcile clearly in theory propositions that appear capable of proof when kept asunder, and that are harmonized in the daily practice of good men (69).

To this class must belong the two propositions, that God is full of compassion, and that he is righteous and just. And the position to which the preceding lectures have led us is—that the Christian doctrine of redemption ought to be believed, because it

is the only one which reconciles the justice and the love of Almighty God. The pretensions of heathen systems of mediation need not be discussed at length, because no one believes that they have been true or effectual. Enough, if we examine here the Mosaic law, as the only system besides the Christian which can truly claim a divine origin. The Bible shows that the Law had a shadow of good things to come, and not the very image of the things ; and that it left the solution of this problem undiscovered. All the provisions of the polity of the Jews were designed to put a hedge about them against the inroads of sin, that they might be a pure and holy people, because a pure and holy God vouchsafed to be their king. This was the end of the severe punishments prescribed, of the rigid ceremonial regulations, of the strict separation from the lawless Gentile, and of the terrible judgments by which Jehovah from time to time vindicated his power against the profane or wilful. Moreover, this law was perfect in its kind. "What could have been done more," says Jehovah by the prophet, "to my vineyard, that I have not done in it? wherefore when I looked that it should bring forth grapes, brought it forth wild grapes^k?" Yet cer-

^k Isa. v. 4.

tainly this dispensation left the reconciliation of the justice and the compassion of the Most High, uneffected. "What could have been done more for the vineyard?" And yet its sacrifices were types and shadows; its prophets pointed into the future; and the more pious of the people wearied themselves with looking towards that quarter from whence their help was to come, whilst the more careless ceased to expect the fulfilment of the promises. "What could have been done more for the vineyard?" And yet the law brought no adequate assurance that unrighteousness could be covered and forgiven; it opened no fountain for the supply of inward strength, when the will was weak and the eye of faith obscure.

The Gospel of Christ, on the other hand, meets the wants which the Law only the more clearly indicates. Sin cannot go without punishment; God cannot admit into his presence with an indiscriminating mercy the disobedient and obedient, those that seek him and those that hate him. If it were otherwise, righteousness would be no longer among his attributes. And yet if he should punish, the wages of sin is death; and the whole human race is concluded under sin, so that all would perish, and there would be no scope for God's love towards us. Philosophy

did not supply the solution of this dilemma; it is to be found in the Gospel of Christ, and in no other scheme or system. He who came down from heaven to redeem us, "whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood¹," is God and man. He alone of men has obeyed the law perfectly, so that in him is no sin; and therefore he owes no punishment. He can offer his own life freely; no man takes it from him, but he can lay it down of himself. That the innocent should suffer for the guilty is less discrepant from our sense of justice, when the sufferer, though most truly a man, is likewise God; because in his mediatorial character he is carrying out that very plan which, as God, his own love and compassion designed for man's salvation. The sacrifice of a mere man, even supposing him to be pure from guilt, as none ever was, could have no influence over the condition of the whole human race; but the Son of God was able to gather in to himself by a deep human sympathy, enforced by infinite power and knowledge, all the sins of the whole world, and bear them in his own body on the cross. For, again, he is God, and so in him, as well as in the Father, we live and

¹ Rom. iii. 25.

move and have our being, so that he can comprehend our sins and griefs, and by his act bring back peace instead of them. Justice is appeased, and God's abhorrence of sin shown forth, if the punishment due to it has been inflicted on so excellent a victim. And the love of God manifests itself without drawback, because the divine will itself in our Redeemer is consenting to his sacrifice; that reluctance which the human will of Christ must have tended to manifest, just because it is human, at the approach of the utmost suffering and disgrace, was corrected by and brought into harmony with the divine will, that fully consented to the counsel of God. Of himself, as a man, he could do nothing: if as man he prayed that, if it were possible, the cup of death might pass from him, he could not but add the words of full consent, "Nevertheless, not my will but thine be done^m." Because of his obedience unto the death of the cross, God raised him from the dead and highly exalted him; and he has sent from the Father the Holy Spirit, which binds together all his elect people, and binds them also to him. A firm and abiding belief in him, and his power to redeem, connects every Christian

^m Matt. xxvi. 39.

with that sacrifice to the end of time, so that, though offered but once, the blood is sufficient to sprinkle every man, as though he were present at it.

Such, if I mistake not, is the meaning of the representations of holy Scripture. But, to follow its words more exactly, we are told, that “when we were yet without strength, in due time Christ died for the ungodlyⁿ ;” that in this, “God,” that is, the Father, “commendeth his love toward us^o ;” that “as by the offence of one, judgment came upon all men to condemnation, even so by the righteousness of one the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life^p ;” that this was effected by his becoming “a curse for us^q,” in suffering a punishment due only to outcast felons, that he thus paid a price for our redemption, and the price was “the precious blood of Christ, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot^r ;” that by paying it “he is the propitiation for our sins: and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world^s ;” that God raised him up, “having loosed the pains of death, because it was not possible that he should be holden of it^t ;” that he “gave him glory, that our faith

ⁿ Rom. v. 7.

^o Rom. v. 8.

^p Rom. v. 18.

^q Gal. iii. 13.

^r 1 Pet. i. 19.

^s 1 John ii. 2.

^t Acts ii. 24.

and hope might be in God^u.” “Wherefore he is able also to save them to the uttermost that come unto God by him, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for them^x.”

A transaction described in such terms as these cannot be tried by the rules and forms of the mere understanding. It meets the inmost wants of the mind; it brings comfort to many a penitent soul, when grief or trial, or the approach of death, has turned all beauty to ashes, all lower solaces into disgust and weariness. It interprets with marvellous exactness all the yearnings of paganism after reconciliation with God; it shows the certainty of the heathen's guesses; it dissolves the doubts about the efficacy of sacrifices, which, with the more thoughtful heathen, damped the fire upon the altar and cooled the fervour of the heart. To such evidence as this we may safely appeal for the confirmation of the scriptural doctrine. But before the trial can be made, the doctrine itself must be accepted as a religious mystery, as a transaction that stands alone, one which human speech cannot describe adequately, because the resources of language have never before been taxed to depict a similar event; and which our understanding cannot grasp,

^u 1 Pet. i. 21.

^x Heb. vii. 25.

because we can only conceive aright that which we can compare with other things of the same nature. All the books of holy Scripture agree in teaching that Jesus Christ has conquered sin and death for our sake ; but when the intellect tries, with a natural curiosity, to comprehend all the bearings of this great act, and to raise and answer questions concerning it, and to consider its parts separately, there is great danger that God's treasure will be falsely weighed in man's coarse balance, and meted in his scanty measures, to the damage and confusion of truth. It is true that the language of Scripture delineates in grand outlines the doctrine of the Cross of Christ, so that the simplest reader obtains a faithful, though not an adequate, representation of it. Not adequate ; because human language was given for human needs, and the minds that employ it see divine things at best through a glass darkly. Christ is represented to us as the paschal Lamb, his blood as a price or ransom, the seal of a new covenant ; and such representations taken together make clear the relation in which mankind stands to the Lord Jesus. But the utmost caution is required in enlarging upon any one of these forms of speech, or in introducing new

terms or illustrations. For example, the word *satisfaction* (*satisfactio*) seemed, to the mind of Tertullian, familiar with legal phrases, a fitting name for that which Christ did for us. It represents us as debtors to the justice of God, and Jesus as satisfying the debt for us; and since the words *ransom* (λύτρον) and *redemption* (ἀπολύτρωσις) are employed in holy Scripture, in a sense not very dissimilar, for the same transaction; and since sins are often represented as debts; it is not to be wondered at that the word came gradually into use, and from the time of Anselm has become almost universal among theological writers. It denotes, properly, the most exact fulfilment of all those things which God in his justice required of sinful men, according to the strictest view of his law, and which Christ has paid (70). But the thoughtless employment even of this useful term might lead to views of Christ's work essentially erroneous. For here we seem to make God the Father and God the Son two opposite parties in the transaction; the Father, as the creditor, insists upon the demands of justice, and the Son, standing in place of the debtor, out of mere love, pays a debt which he never incurred. But the Bible says expressly that the love of the Father, as

well as his justice, was shown in man's redemption; and that the Son is just, and shall judge the whole world in righteousness. When we take the phrases of a court of law, and hallow them to describe what has passed before the divine tribunal, we must carry along with us a sense of their inadequateness for that higher use. This is more apparent from another case. The Roman law recognised a process called *acceptilatio*, a legal fiction, by which a creditor who had not really received payment in full of his claim, admitted, when he was asked, that payment had been made. Now this word was applied to the doctrine we are considering by the Scotists, when they maintained, against Thomas Aquinas, that the satisfaction made by Christ upon the Cross was not really sufficient for the sins of the world, but was accepted out of God's indulgence, as if it were so (71). Here the interests of truth have really suffered from the rash adoption of new language in speaking of this great mystery; the Bible gives no warrant either for the word or the thing.—There may be danger of error, even whilst we adhere to scriptural statements, if we isolate one part of them from the rest, or dwell upon distinctions on which the in-

spired writers do not insist. Among Protestant theologians the distinction has been generally maintained between the two parts of the satisfaction made by Christ—his active obedience and his passive, or, in other words, between what he did and what he suffered. “By his active obedience,” says one of them, “Christ has fulfilled the divine law most exactly, in our stead, in order that repentant sinners may apply this vicarious fulfilment by true faith to themselves, and be counted righteous before God. By his passive obedience he has transferred to himself the sins of the whole world, and suffered the punishment due to them by his precious bloodshedding, that the sins of those who believe on him as the Redeemer may not be imputed unto them for eternal punishment” (72). But this distinction can hardly be maintained; “for passive obedience,” as another author remarks, “does not exclude active, but rather includes it; for even in the hour of death the active obedience of Christ strongly manifested itself.” Every step of his ministry was taken willingly and freely, therefore he was active throughout; and, on the other hand, every act done in a state of humiliation may be regarded as part of his suffering. It was as truly suffering, to an-

nounce great truths to those whose dull ears would not receive them, or to perform miracles before those who saw not God's hand in them, as it was to be buffeted by the soldiers, though in a less degree: in both cases mankind dishonoured their divine guest; in that, by withholding honour and deference that was due; in this, by wanton violence. Theology might dispense with a distinction so doubtful, of which Scripture takes no notice. But whatever may be the duty of controversialists, the Christian, who is seeking for himself a solution for his doubts and a firm foundation for his hopes, should rely less upon logical explanations of the plan of redemption, than upon a loving and reverent study of the whole person and work of Christ. In the sacred pages we have the means of knowing Jesus, his actions, discourses, and conversations; indeed that character, standing out so pure, so far above all human ideals, so completely drawn, has often struck with admiration and conviction those who have resisted the other evidences of Christianity (73). Thanks to God for his word, the simplest English Christian may join the crowd that listen to him upon the mountain as he expands and fills out the morality of the Law into a

spiritual code of his future Church. With him we may arrest the funeral procession at the gate of Nain ; we may share the evidence of the miracles performed to convince the Baptist's messengers. We may look with him over the city of Jerusalem when he weeps over it, and know, that though it stands so proud and looks so glad in its preparation for the paschal feast, it is already, because it has rejected him, given over to enemies who shall lay it even with the ground. Every such scene, regarded reverently, shall bring us somewhat nearer to the knowledge of him. It was because Peter had long followed his journeys, and heard his gracious words, and seen his power, that that belief which he professed, that he was the Christ the Son of the living God, had grown up by degrees in his mind. But we, with the whole history before us, from the first word of prophecy to the last glimpse of his ascension, possess better means of knowledge than Peter when he made his confession. And stronger than all the arguments that can be supplied against false and derogatory views of the redemption would be such intimate converse with the Saviour. What ! can one contemplate that life, holy and spotless under all fortunes, forbearing

under coldness, misapprehension, and persecution, ready with help for every kind of sorrow, and with wisdom for every form of inquiry, without believing that such a character passes the invention of man? And if it is a history, and no invention, one cannot refuse to accept with grateful reverence the Redeemer's account of his own work.

And this leads us to the last proposition we have to consider at present—that the doctrine of the Atonement satisfies the natural wants of men, as shown forth in heathen forms of religion. In a former Lecture^y, some of those stories were recited in which a king or a warrior devoted himself to death for his country, in obedience to some oracle or soothsayer, who pretended to give a religious worth and meaning to the suicidal act. Such accounts we took to prove, that the idea of a vicarious suffering and death was far from being repugnant to the human mind. Now why is it that these legends are received by us with a feeling of pity rather than of honour? Because the need of self-sacrifice was not real, and because there was nothing so precious in the blood of a Decius, beyond that which leaped in the veins of the meanest soldier in his legions, that it should

verily do what the historian's imagination conceived — "expiate all the anger of the gods, and turn away destruction from his countrymen by casting it upon their enemies^z." But go to the pagan who could accept such an account, and convince his conscience of its own sinfulness, and prove to him that all the human race was in the same condition; bid him compare his life, not with the debased standard of those Olympian deities of whom his own philosophers had learnt to be ashamed, but with the will of a pure God, glorious in holiness; and then tell him, that a great prophet, whose most pure life proved that he was akin to the God of purity, whose marvellous works proved that health and sickness, and the powers of nature, and life and death, and the bodies and souls of men, were subject to him, came into the world expressly to expiate the divine anger, and atone God and the whole race of men. Will he not see that the difference between that narrative and this is, that the need of reconciliation is deep, pressing, and universal, in this case, and most worthy of the divine interference, and that the blood of one who showed himself so excellent, so divine, would have an atoning

^z Page 34. and Note 23.

value far beyond that which the devoted hero of his own annals mingled with other like blood in the thick of the battle? When St. Paul stood upon the Areopagus, and told those Athenians, whose light wits a long succession of Sophists had sharpened, and who had crowded their city with idols, because, as Strabo says (74), they were very hospitable alike to men and gods, that there was a great lesson of wisdom to learn, and the name of one mightier than all their gods to accept and believe, even Jesus, whom God had raised from the dead, their derision was not unnatural; since, at the first impression, how could the death of a man who died like a slave at Jerusalem concern the refined and cultivated Greek? But some clave to St. Paul, we read; and doubtless the reason that they believed was, that he opened to them their own wants, and convinced them that Jesus, though he had stooped to the conditions of time and space, had shown that these could not contain him, and that he was Lord and God of Greek as well as of Jew. That one could devote himself for another effectually, would be a truth admitted both by the preacher and his hearers. Again, the position assumed by the heathen priest, exhibits some remarkable analogies with the true

view of the priesthood of our blessed Lord. Those words of Buddha which were quoted, "Let all the sins that have been committed in this world fall upon me, that the world may be delivered ^a," cannot but arouse Christian ears. The sympathy with human souls weltering in the tumult of their own passions, fast bound in misery and iron, was not confined to the divine teacher, who would have gathered the children of Jerusalem together under the wings of his love, to save them from the evil to come, nor to that apostle who could wish himself accursed from Christ for his brethren; it sprang up naturally in the religious consciousness even of the higher pagan minds. Then, the heathen priest presented himself to the people as a mediator, as one who went between man and the gods to keep them reconciled. He made sacrifice as one of the people, sensible of the same needs as they; but he scrupled not to receive divine honours from them, because he believed that he was the representative of God to them. Who does not admit that these ideas would prepare men in some degree to accept the Christian doctrine of mediation? "Christ," says one of the Fathers (75), "is evidently the bond of our

^a Page 36. and Note 24.

union with God and the Father, for as man he has us dependent on him, and as God he is in God naturally, as his true Father.” Again, the almost universal prevalence of the shedding of blood in sacrifices, founded on the opinion that the blood is the life, precludes the supposition that sacrifices only expressed a willingness to surrender our precious things to the divine power as signs of our homage^b. They were confessions that life itself was forfeit to God, and efforts to redeem it. Now when we seem to trace a gradual substitution of inferior animals for the human victim, and, further, of images and symbols for the living things, that actual bloodshed might be spared, we see the human mind beginning to distrust its own intuitions. It seemed, as civilization grew on, a dreadful thing to break into the house of life, and pour out the blood even of a conquered enemy, without the strongest assurance that such cruelty had a real efficacy. Hence, too, the devices to secure from the victim at least the semblance of assent; hence the high honour paid to those who of free will immolated themselves. The Christian doctrine of redemption explains this difficulty. A mere man, however full of love for his brethren, however eager

^b Page 41. and Note 27.

to die on their behalf, could never have been sure that self-destruction would avail them. But if Jesus was one with God, and therefore knew God's counsel, and measured against the forfeit life of human nature the excellent price of his own sufferings, and knew that it was sufficient, in him self-sacrifice was an act of the highest love and the most perfect holiness.

Thus then an attempt has been made to exhibit the work of Christ as reconciling the two attributes of the Deity, at first sight incompatible—his righteousness and his mercy. It has been shown that the mode of our redemption is still a great mystery, and that the common forms of speech and thought will therefore inadequately represent it. It has been remarked, that in its adaptation to our needs, as sinful creatures seeking reconciliation, one great evidence for the reality of Christ's work lies; and that on a comparison of Christianity with the various heathen schemes, such resemblances come out as confirm the evidences of the one, and explain the lisping utterances of the other. But one thing remains.

Every Christian doctrine must not only be believed, but, as it were, turned into life within us. The word was made flesh in

order that we might enjoy a living union with the Father, knowing him and doing his will as brethren of Christ the first-born. His passion must likewise be transacted again in our hearts (76). If he condemned sin in the flesh by dying for it, so must we realise that death by crucifying the flesh with the affections and lusts. How was it that the Apostles reaped so rich a harvest when they went out as Christ's labourers after his ascension? They passed with swift feet through barbarous countries that knew nothing of other nations or their hopes or their doings, and said, "Jesus Christ suffered and has risen," and many believed. They said the same thing, foolish though it seemed, to the proud inheritors of Greek philosophy; and if many derided, some believed. Wherever the seed fell, it grew. Whence came this astonishing success from the use of means so simple? It was God that gave the increase; he prepared those minds that were to receive the truth, so that it awoke them to a new life. They did not discuss Christian truth, but made trial of it in their life. Thus they felt and saw it, tasted and handled it. The distant scene of the crucifixion was brought home to them; the unknown Galilean became a present friend. Unless we use the same means, if our

interest in the matter is only outward, impersonal, historical, doubts will arise that no logic can meet, the best arguments will fail, for they are only fitted for convincing the intellect through the heart. Let us love him who first loved us, even whilst we were enemies, who for us took the form of a servant and was obedient unto death, even the death of the cross. Let us hate all that is vile and sinful within us, because he hates it; let us fear, lest by our sins we renew his pains. Thus will our own consciousness bear its witness to the truth of the history; Christ will be formed in us, and every thing that would estrange us from him will sound like calumnies against a sure friend. “Lord, to whom shall we go? thou hast the words of eternal life. And we believe and are sure that thou art that Christ, the Son of the living God^c.”

^c John vi. 68, 69.

LECTURE VI.

S. JOHN XVI. 13.

Howbeit when he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he will guide you into all truth.

THE evidence of the human consciousness for the necessity and the method of a reconciliation of man with God, as it appears in heathen systems, has been already partly examined. But there is another kind of evidence, which must at least be indicated. Our blessed Lord joined his Church in one by the holy Spirit, which was to be a Spirit of truth, to guide the disciples into all truth, to teach them all things, and to bring all things to their remembrance; and, according to St. John, the perpetual test that Christ abode in them, was to be the presence of that Spirit that he had given them. Now we are accustomed to attach importance, in a greater or less degree, to the decisions of councils of the Church, because of such promises of Christ. But this implies a belief that individuals too

were under the guidance of the Spirit of truth, so far at least as their wilful sins or obstinate faults of education or position did not frustrate his agency; for no one would expect that true decisions could be obtained from the aggregation of individual errors. Councils and synods might be expected, apart from special interpositions of God on their behalf, which our Church nowhere imagines, to produce right and true results, in proportion as they consisted of men of spiritual mind, endued with the knowledge and love of God. Hence the witness of individuals, where it can be obtained, will have a value of its own, not different in kind, but in degree, from that of synodical decisions; in both cases the present guidance of God's holy Spirit being the essence and the measure of their value. If indeed Christian agreement only amounted to this—that each Church, and each individual, was the repository of certain doctrinal statements, which were merely to be reproduced and reasserted in the same terms upon all occasions, so that the functions of each were those of a faithful reporter only, the study of Christian writers would have little interest, because the views of one would stand for all. But each possessed, not merely the words of a creed, but the principle of an

internal life; to have apprehended sin and God's holiness and Christ's reconciliation, would place the mind in a new position for viewing the field of human thought and action, so that it would be able to pronounce upon new combinations as they arose, and decide how far they harmonized with, or were dissonant from, the body of Christian truth. The Gnostic or the Arian was met by the answer most proper to his error, not because a provident tradition had prepared and handed down the arguments before they were wanted, but because a mind in which Christ was formed, upon which the image of his life and doings was deeply impressed, was able to generate them, as new errors were successively put forth to contradict. And the words of the apocryphal writer, in which the power of divine wisdom is described, may be applied, though with heavy deductions for human frailty and inertness and prejudice, to the knowledge of God through Christ: "Wisdom . . . passeth and goeth through all things by reason of her pureness. For she is the breath of the power of God, and a pure influence flowing from the glory of the Almighty: therefore can no defiled thing fall into her. For she is the brightness of the everlasting light, the unspotted mirror of the

power of God, and the image of his goodness. And being but one, she can do all things : and remaining in herself she maketh all things new : and in all ages entering into holy souls, she maketh them friends of God, and prophets^a.”

Hence the interest with which Christian writings of different ages are studied. The writers held fast to one belief in Jesus Christ, very God and very man ; but their modes of stating and unfolding it were various, according to the errors to be opposed, or the needs of those they taught, or the modes of thought and education prevalent at the time. Between Irenæus and Anselm, for example, there is that amount of difference that might be expected in two earnest and independent minds, alike convinced that Jesus Christ, the God made man, had died to save the world, yet separated by an interval of nine centuries, and exposed to very different influences. The points of difference give the value to their evidence upon points of agreement, because they assure us that we are examining two free and independent witnesses, who are not merely repeating with the lips a common lesson, but are giving utterance to a truth that dwells in them as a vital principle, ani-

^a Wisdom vii. 24—27.

mating, fashioning, and sustaining all parts of their mind and soul.

It is not to be inferred that I am attempting a comparative estimate of the worth of synodical decrees and of the writings of individual fathers. As in the two preceding Lectures the questions proposed have been, What did Jesus himself declare as to his atonement? and what did his Apostles preach? so the question that naturally succeeds is, What did the Church believe upon the same doctrine? If it is to be answered simply out of formal decrees, the task is short and easy. Our Nicene creed, completed at the two Councils of Nicæa and Constantinople, and at Ephesus stamped and ratified as the Church's final decision on Christian doctrine (77), sets forth that Christ, "for us men and for our salvation, came down from heaven, and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, and was made man, and was crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate; he suffered and was buried, and the third day he rose again according to the Scriptures, and ascended into heaven." To these propositions all my hearers give their unqualified assent. But they are well aware that single writers upon this subject have felt compelled by their position to

speak more fully of the necessity of the reconciliation of man with God, of the mode of effecting it, and of its results. To inquire how the doctrine of the Atonement assimilated itself to all other parts of their systems and modes of thinking, how far it modified or was modified by them, will be to open out a new line of evidence, analogous to that which we drew from pagan religions; and at the same time it will enable us to reaffirm the substantial agreement of Christian writers upon this vital truth against the tendency that exists at present to magnify points of difference into positive contradictions.

The extent of the subject requires that we put aside those controversies in which the Atonement is only implicitly involved, and confine ourselves to explicit statements. The Gnostic sects, who denied the reality of the human nature and acts of Jesus, and the Judaizers, who discerned his human nature only, assailed by implication the doctrine of Redemption; since if he were not truly man he did not truly suffer, and so our hopes from his sufferings are vain; and again, if he were not more than man his acts and death could not avail others. In like manner the tenets of Arius and Apollinaris involve the Atonement, whilst they primarily

affect the person, of our blessed Lord (78). But in the more express statements upon this doctrine, more than enough of materials for our present purpose can be found.

The earliest Christian writers were almost compelled by their position to enter on the philosophic discussion of their belief. Gnosticism was an attempt to represent the history of the world as a succession of outward manifestations of the infinite Spirit; and Greek and Jewish and Oriental philosophy furnished the materials out of which its several systems were constructed (79). A purely speculative method like this challenged a speculative treatment of Christian truth on the part of its defenders. The sobriety and circumspection by which the Christian writers met these wild theories is due to the aid of the Spirit that was guiding them into all truth; but partly, as a natural cause, to the fact, that they had to hold their difficult way in the midst of such opposite errors as have been already alluded to. Their zeal might have tempted them to counteract speculations which represented Jesus as a mere human teacher, by withdrawing from sight his true human nature, if another system had not lain behind them which destroyed all Christian belief by ex-

plaining away all the historical facts of the Gospel. Now when the mystery of the redemption began to be tried by reason, to which, in the highest and proper sense of the word *reason*, it commends itself as true, it was not long before two distinct lines of thought were opened out as to the object of Christ's sufferings. By Irenæus the scriptural accounts of the redemption are fully and prominently put forward; as a man caused the fall, a man must cause the restoration; he must be a man able to sum up in himself (*recapitulare*) all the human species, so as to bear the punishment of all, and to render an obedience that will compensate for their innumerable acts of disobedience. It suits not with the divine nature to effect his will by force, but rather by love and influence; hence came the voluntary self-sacrifice, out of exceeding love, of the divine Son of man, who is truly God and man; and hence, too, men are not dragged, but drawn, back to God from sin, embracing by an act of their will the offers of mercy made them through Christ. But combined with these statements there are indications at least of the idea that Christ died to redeem men from a real objective power which Satan had acquired over them,

so that the redeeming price was paid, not so much as a debt due to the righteousness and justice of God, as a ransom to release them from a conqueror, and to restore them to God, to whom they originally belonged. "Since," says this writer, in words often quoted, and not unfrequently misunderstood, "the apostasy [that is, the devil] unjustly got the dominion over us, and, though we belonged by nature to the omnipotent God, alienated us, against nature, and made us his own disciples, [Christ] the Word of God, powerful in all things, and perfect in justice, acted justly in regard to the apostasy [that is, Satan], redeeming from it that which was his own; not by force, in the way that it got dominion over us in the beginning, when it carried off insatiably that which belonged not to it; but by persuasion [*secundum suadellam*], as it became God to receive what he would by the use of persuasion, not of force, that justice should not be infringed, nor that which God had created of old should perish" (80). Some have supposed that the words "by persuasion" mean by a way which the devil himself must be convinced was right and reasonable; but if this were the only, or the prominent sense of the words, it would be strangely inconsistent with the

general views of the writer. The apostate spirit, as he says in another place, persuaded men to transgress ; but because he used fraud and wrong to compass his purpose, the author here contrasts with this false persuasion, which he calls *force* and *injustice*, the fair and just persuasion, by which the Son of man, who has been lifted up, draws all men back to him (81). It is to lost men, we may be sure, and not to Satan, that the persuasion in question speaks. With Irenæus the redemption was not a friendly treaty between two powers for the release of prisoners : he says that Christ contended with, repulsed, conquered, despoiled, and bound the enemy of God and man. Still it cannot be denied that the notion that Christ's sufferings were to free man from Satan's dominion as a real objective power, obtained a place, though a subordinate one, in the wise and moderate system of Irenæus. Now this idea, of the need of a redemption from the power of Satan, appears again in the writings of Origen, not however to the exclusion of true scriptural views as to the effects of our Redeemer's work. "He bore in himself our infirmities, and carried our sorrows ; the infirmities of the soul, and the sorrows of the inner man ; and on account of these sorrows and infirmi-

ties which he bore away from us, he says, that his soul is troubled and full of anguish ;” “He could take on himself, and so destroy, the sins of the whole world.” These are the words of one who has realised the truth ; but he also says—“To whom did he give his soul a ransom for many ? Surely not to God. Was it then to the evil one ? For he had the dominion over us, until the ransom should be paid him for us, even the life of Jesus, though he was deceived, as thinking he was able to have dominion over it” (82). Indeed, this additional notion, of a deceit practised on Satan, would follow as a necessary consequence from the idea that the ransom was paid to Satan at all ; because he could not hope to retain the Redeemer in his power, and he would not knowingly surrender the permanent possession of the human race in return for a ransom that was to be wrested from him for ever as soon as it was paid. And whilst great writers have given their sanction to the opinion, such as Gregory of Nazianzus, Gregory of Nyssa, Augustine, Ambrose, Leo, and Gregory the Great, whose representations are so bold, vivid, and figurative, that it might be perilous to quote them here (83), a doctrine so unscriptural, so self-contradictory,

could not, we may hope, be deeply rooted in the consciousness side by side with the main belief that Jesus had reconciled God and man by his incarnation and death. It is quite unscriptural, because it takes from God his glory, and gives part of it to another, because he is represented as unable to call back his own erring creatures, still beloved, without paying first the price of the precious blood of his only begotten Son, to one who in the very heart of his kingdom had set up an alien throne. “Art thou not God in heaven? and rulest not thou over all the kingdoms of the heathen? and in thine hand is there not power and might, so that none is able to withstand thee^b?” If so, then the mysterious reason for the existence of evil must be consistent with the omnipotence of God. Satan rules over men, because they have accepted him; evil exists in the physical world, but be we sure that that string of discord shall be tuned, in some way yet unknown, into a part of the universal harmony which tells of the glory of God and sings his praise. And accordingly it is one of the authors in whom these rhetorical figures, of the human nature of the Lord being as it were a bait to catch the evil one, and entice him to

^b 2 Chron. xx. 6.

attack the concealed divine nature which it would be his ruin to touch, attain their boldest and most dramatic form, who pointed out most clearly the difficulty they involved. "If the ransom is paid to the evil one," says Gregory Nazianzen, "it is a strange insolence, that a robber not only receives a ransom from God, but receives God himself as a ransom, and has so transcendent a reward for his tyranny. And if it is paid to the Father, how can that be, for by the Father we were not kept in bondage?" (84) For this doctrine is also self-contradictory. At first the need of a ransom paid to Satan was grounded on the justice and equity of the Almighty, who would not break down by violence even a dominion that had been established in the first instance by injustice. But here God appears to treat an inveterate wrong as though it had passed into a right. And how can justice be satisfied by the deceit of offering a price which, nominally great, was truly worthless, because it could not be retained? If, then, I am right in drawing a distinction between the expressions about a ransom paid to Satan, which in some form or other almost all the Fathers, from Irenæus downwards, employ, and that deeply-rooted belief, of which the idea in question is an off-

shoot, that Jesus Christ came down from heaven to save the human race, by joining in one the divine and human nature, and by bearing in himself the punishment of sin, we may still turn to the Christian writers with profit, to learn how this belief gave a new direction to their views of human life, how it supplied answers to successive errors, how it subdued and moulded to itself all their other knowledge. If I am justified in thinking that an erroneous view, of which the logical contradiction lay so close at hand, could not have taken so deep a hold as it may appear at first to have done, on the minds of men like Irenæus and Augustine, in whom the consciousness of Christian truth was so deep and pervading, then we may still rely upon that general agreement which, apart from this, their writings manifest, upon the doctrine of the Atonement, and may appeal to it as the complement of our proof, that this divine scheme of reconciliation is found suitable to the inmost wants of man.

But another idea, less plainly repugnant to scriptural truth, that Christ gave his life as a satisfaction to God's justice in payment of a debt which all mankind had incurred, and could not discharge, will also require especial mention. And here it will not be

necessary to attempt to trace the history of the theory of satisfaction, or the juridical theory, as it has also been called, because the name of Anselm of Canterbury is appropriately connected with it, by common consent. Perhaps no writer in the whole history of the Church has brought to the study of the philosophy of religion a keener intellect chastened by a faith more humble. "I do not seek, O Lord," says he, "to penetrate thy depths; I by no means think my intellect equal to them; but I long to understand in some degree thy truth, which my heart believes and loves. For I do not seek to understand, that I may believe; but I believe, that I may understand" (85). And this noble aspiration was no mere phrase of rhetoric. In the two ideas which he has contributed to the stock of Christian truth, namely, a proof more elaborate than had been attempted before, for the existence of God from the thought of God in the soul (3), and the proof from reason of the necessity and worth of Christ's redemption, we may witness that rare union of faith and philosophic acumen in which neither of them dwarfs nor destroys the other. That we are unable to accept his results in either case, without reserve, is no more than might be expected; for both are

attempts to deal with the highest problems on which reason can be employed—to find God, and to understand salvation. Still the study of them could scarcely fail to benefit any one who wished to explore the philosophic ground of Christian faith; however uninviting in form, the principal works of this writer would help to clear and brighten the finest intelligence, and to give a hint to the proudest, that before God the knee should be bent and the voice lifted in prayer.

The treatise on Redemption is an attempt to answer the question, Why was it requisite for man's salvation that God should become man? Considering the divine omnipotence, we might expect that the mere fiat of his will, or the acceptance of some lower sacrifice than that of his only-begotten Son, might have sufficed to effect the reconciliation. The incidents of the Incarnation and the Crucifixion seem derogatory to God; the Infinite Spirit clothing himself with a finite nature, and allowing finite men and the power of evil to assail and triumph over him, these are representations that may shock our reverence. If redemption was required at all, why was it not effected by means of a sinless man who was no more than man; a mere man caused the fall, a

mere man might have sufficed for the restoration. This, Anselm replies, would not have procured man's perfect restoration, for it would have left men dependent on one of themselves ; he to whom they owed redemption would have been in some sense their master instead of God. But why, it may be urged, was there any need of redemption at all ? When we speak of God's anger we mean neither more nor less than his will to punish. The moment that will is withdrawn there is neither anger nor punishment to fear ; it appears, then, that a mere revocation of the will to punish would of itself constitute salvation. The argument that God gave his Son as a ransom for man from the power of Satan, because it was right and just to recover, by fair means, a race who had freely and voluntarily given themselves over to his power, is at once dismissed, for the true reasons, namely, that the devil cannot properly have either merit or power or right over man ; that the power which in one sense he exerts against mankind was only permissive, and that it expired when the permission was withdrawn. He then proceeds to establish the need of redemption on surer grounds. Every creature that can will and act owes to God an entire obedience, as the

honour due to him. All sin, then, is a wrong done to his honour, of what kind soever the offence is. Punishment must attach to sin invariably, in order to mark the difference between sin and holiness; it would not only encourage sin, if man thought that the Almighty was blind to it, but would obscure and distort our views of the divine nature itself, if we conceived of him as one to whom sin and its opposite are both alike. We should thus regard God as admitting sin into the order of the universe without dissent or protest, whereas we know that the very nature of sin is disorder. God, however, cannot suffer disorder; for though sin could not really detract from his power and dignity, its aim and intent are to dishonour and deface, as far as may be, the beauty of the divine government. If it may do this, and yet draw at pleasure upon the divine pity for forgiveness, unrighteousness is more free and unshackled than obedience. Now no man can render for his brethren the full obedience required; "a sinner cannot justify a sinner." Even if a man, with his heart full of love and contrition, were to renounce all earthly solaces, and in labour and abstinence strive to obey God in all things, and to do good to all, and forgive all, he would

only be doing his duty ; but he is unable to do even this ; and it is his misery that he cannot plead his inability as an excuse, because that proceeds from sin. Now if some being can be found to make satisfaction for man, he must unite in himself two conditions. He must be of the same nature as those on whose behalf he renders the obedience, in order that it may be accepted as theirs ; and yet, if the satisfaction is to be complete, he must be able to render to God something greater than every created thing, for among men pure righteousness is not to be found ; and if so, he must be God, for what is there above the creature except God himself ? Therefore he must be God and man, whose life, far exalted above all created things, must be infinitely valuable. By rendering perfect obedience throughout life, and even in a death which, as sinless, he did not owe, and, as God, he might have escaped, he made satisfaction for men. Thus is the divine mercy, which seems to be excluded when we think of divine justice and of the infinite amount of sin, brought into perfect harmony with justice, so that our reason can discern that no better scheme of redemption could have been devised (86).

The system of Anselm, thus imperfectly

sketched, differs from the theory of satisfaction prevalent among later theologians in one important respect. Here satisfaction is distinct from punishment; the one being an obedience to God's commands, and the other the consequence of disobedience. It was by obeying for men, rather than by being punished for them, according to Anselm, that our blessed Lord reconciled them to his Father. He endured death rather as a consequence of his obedience than an integral part of it: his unswerving determination to pursue holiness led the Jews to conspire against him and put him to death, but the holiness rather than the death was man's justification (87). Thus the sufferings of our Lord occupy a lower place in the scheme of redemption than they ought to do. But Thomas Aquinas, who in other respects adopts the theory of Anselm, has made more prominent the punishment which Christ bore for men. And in the distinction to which I alluded before, between the active and passive obedience of Christ, or, as it is sometimes said, between his satisfaction of the law, and of punishment, the system, so amended, has passed into modern theology (88).

It may be a thankless office to point out

defects in a view which many of my hearers already know and admire as a beautiful product of thought, and which was wrought out from an earnest wish to make God's wisdom known among men. But there is some danger in applying thus strictly and logically the notion of satisfaction for a debt, to a transaction so mysterious, so far above all comparison with men's dealings^c. The author himself admits that the condescension of the Son of God contains much that no theory can unfold. For is it not, after all, a fault inseparable from all efforts to exhibit the Infinite nature in the forms of finite thought and speech, that they can but offer a partial and onesided view? And whilst this theory accounts for the objective part of Redemption, and shows us on what grounds the reconciliation was arranged without us, it seems to omit the subjective part, for it fails to explain how, by a living union with the Redeemer, by faith on our side and grace on his, we become so united with him, that our life is one with his. At this point the analogy of a satisfaction made by another for a debtor breaks down; and therefore those who would use this theory aright must be prepared to abandon it here. Most true is

^c See page 132.

it, that the work of reconciliation must be completed without us, before the inward change that follows on it can be commenced. But in conceiving of the reconciliation itself, we must represent it as something that can and must be inwardly appropriated by each believer. There is some danger, too, lest the Atonement be allowed to degenerate into a transaction between a righteous Father on the one hand and a loving Saviour on the other, because in the human transaction from which the analogy is drawn two distinct parties are concerned; whereas in the plan of salvation one will alone operates, and in the Father and the Son alike justice and love are reconciled. Nor does this theory answer the main question so as to exclude all cavil, why were the incarnation and death of Christ indispensable (89). And yet, provided it is not considered as an adequate and final explanation of the mystery, which its author never intended, it will serve to clear up and harmonize many parts of Scripture; and prove, if not that God *must* redeem man by this way, at least that in such a mode of salvation there is nothing repugnant to the reason of the pious and reverent.

The existence of these two ideas in the Church cannot be denied. The former—that

of a ransom paid to Satan—prevailed from the time of Irenæus to the twelfth century ; and as it went through a regular growth, and attained a much greater fulness and precision than it had at first, we must admit that it was part of the current belief, and not a mere accidental coincidence in the use of a rhetorical figure. Still in the writings of those who held it were the materials for contradicting it, and they themselves were not insensible to its incongruity with the rest of their views. The latter—that of a satisfaction of a debt due to God, the source of which may be found perhaps in Athanasius (90)—has exercised its principal influence from the twelfth century downwards. But we must not judge of the belief of Christians upon the Saviour's work from these apparent differences. On the contrary, there is a fundamental agreement among them on this subject, disturbed by fewer controversies than most other doctrines. Through a succession of ages, there were faithful witnesses, who, with many errors and corruptions, individual and general, proclaimed that Jesus sanctified human nature by assuming it ; that he thereby mediated between God and man, and did away with their estrangement ; that his twofold nature made his mediation possible ; that

not his incarnation only, but also, in an especial manner, his sufferings and death, were instrumental in freeing us from sin and wrath, and in procuring for us eternal life; and that so great a proof of love, as the sending of God's only-begotten Son into the world to die for us sinners, ought to awaken a lively gratitude on our part towards our great Benefactor. They taught, further, that he showed us an example of perfect obedience to God, and taught a purer morality, and especially that all who came under the new dispensation of God's love should show charity towards each other; that he gave all believers power to become sons of God, and to feel a new life within them, with new impulses to holiness. Great stress is laid upon the ransom or redemption effected by the death of Jesus on the cross, although the precise effects of this sacrifice are variously explained by some, and left by others as a mystery transcending all explanation (91).

If then we found in the false religions of the world signs that the human mind was vaguely feeling after a Redeemer, we appeal to the testimony of Christians in all ages, in proof that the Redeemer we have found enlightens all those blind wants, and satisfies those obscure longings. And this testimony is more

valuable, because it is not that of men who calmly open the undisturbed archives of our faith, and read what is written there as occasion requires, but that of men of pure and fervent spirit, in whom the knowledge of Christ was a life and a speech, who did not suffer monstrous forms of philosophy to silence them, nor great heresies to carry them away, nor the enticements of worldly cultivation to work oblivion of the faith intrusted to them. During the ages from which this harmonious testimony may be drawn, an empire crumbled away, and a spiritual domination, far more potent, sat upon the vacated seat, and the imprisoned human mind awoke from its long sleep, and broke its bonds, and carried off the gates of its prison, and walked into the free air, to begin that active life of war, of travel, of scientific discovery, of free discussion, of growing wealth, in which we find ourselves involved; and yet the witness to the need of redemption has not failed. Ask the ages when the Bible was studied by the few, and those in which it is in every house and hand; and the same faithful saying, worthy of all acceptance, comes back, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners. We need not extenuate the errors that have appeared from time to time; they

have been great and destructive. But great have been the temptations. And if, when the earth has quaked and the mountains burned with fire, the needle has sometimes wavered, it is much that it always comes back to that one star. Because you have felt within yourself that the belief in Christ crucified explained the paradoxes of the intellect, and raised the heart to nobler wishes, and gave an aim and purpose to the desultory life, you will not admit that it is a fable or a dream. But the same experience has been realized a thousand times in history ; and we may go and see how the same belief reasoned down errors with Irenæus, or lifted up the heart of a plague-stricken city with Cyprian, or chastened and hallowed Anselm's searching inquiries. For all alike professed him who put away sin by the sacrifice of himself, and so hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified.

Now in comparing the state of our own minds with that of any of the great Christian writers, we shall perhaps become conscious of a certain separation, which we have allowed to grow up, between our religious opinions and the rest of our pursuits and acquirements. They were striving for the most part to get Christianity recognised as the law of

the earth, to make philosophy and history and civil policy know the cross and the love of Jesus. In them the knowledge of God will seem, as it were, to have leavened the whole lump; we perhaps have not dared to hide the leaven in the meal. Thus, if we are students, we may find that our real interests have centred in history or science or politics; whilst the bare propositions of Christian truth have been acquired out of some uninviting compendium, or studied, though with a weaker purpose, in the word of God, on days which conscience will not let us devote to the dearer pursuits of our choice. If we are called to preach to others, our teaching suffers from our withholding the best of those things, new and old, that we have been storing up; it appears lifeless, formal, traditional. We are tempted, too, to rest in the "earthly things" of Christ's kingdom, to speak too exclusively of the visible Church, of its ministry, of the change of nature in baptism, because these seem to presuppose less thought and meditation than the heavenly things, such as the nature of God, the redemption through his blessed Son, the future hopes of man. To see, if it were possible, in all things that exist, him that existed before all; to know, as we study the harmony of the universe and

the beauty of natural products, “how much better the Lord of them is, for the first author of beauty hath created them^d ;” to further all those institutions or pursuits that have any Christian import ; to judge, but without harshness or presumption, the current philosophy and literature of the time by a Christian standard ; to be dissatisfied with all mere activity of mind, unless it can assist in rounding off the character into a consistent whole, or equipping the mind with useful instruments ; would be to turn knowledge into true wisdom, and to offer wisdom upon the altar of the Lord. Such a pervading consciousness of God would be most precious, because it would impart a higher interest to all pursuits, and make us able to discern truth from falsehood in guiding others, or in judging of popular opinions. True wisdom comes by thought, and how can that thought profit in which there is no discernment of God ? It is not from a wide range of literature, nor from protracting the vigils of study till the stars grow pale, that wisdom can be gained ; it is not the power of reasoning, nor that of adorning old thoughts by new beauties of speech ; it begins with the fear of the Lord. Let a man say, “I

^d Wisdom xiii. 3.

will expel this lurking distrust. If the revelation of God is true, if the work of Christ is real, all my other knowledge should be adjusted and subordinated to this. History is a riddle, until I can discern something at least of the eternal purpose running through it; ethical systems are worthless, except so far as they prepare for the pure morality of Christ's kingdom; culture and accomplishments should minister to the illustration and explanation of the highest truth. I will take the ripest clusters of every vintage, to cast them into the winepress which He trod; I will take the Christian scheme as the ground-plan on which all my mind shall be built. For, 'behold, the fear of the Lord, that is wisdom; and to depart from evil is understanding^e.'"

^e Job xxviii. 28.

LECTURE VII.

HEBREWS X. 22.

Let us draw near with a true heart in full assurance of faith, having our hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience, and our bodies washed with pure water.

THE choice now presents itself, of pursuing the history of the doctrine of the Atonement from the Reformation downwards, in the same manner as in the last Lecture we traced it almost to that point, or of summing up the general result at which we have arrived, and then comparing it with such current opinions as are likely to meet us at the present day. The complexity of the details of the history, the fulness of discussion which many parts of it have received already, even from this place, and the shortness of the space remaining, must determine me to the latter course.

I. The Atonement, by which is meant the work of Jesus Christ in reconciling God to

man, and man to God, should be studied by us in the same mode as it is revealed in holy Scripture, that is, as a practical doctrine, not as a theory. Our blessed Redeemer did not rend the veil of heaven that we might enrich our philosophy by gazing into the holy of holies, and opening the very ark of God's counsels, any more than he laid open the marvellous laws of the physical universe, and endowed us before the time with a system of astronomy, of physiology, and of chemistry. He was a living, active teacher, showing men how they should live and act. If he tells his disciples that he must suffer, he adds at the same time the practical precept, that any man who would come after him must likewise deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow him. If he washes his disciples' feet, he tells them that that symbolical act is to teach them the duty of mutual condescension. And so the Apostles connect all the parts of his life and sufferings with some practical duty; and exhort us to be humble, because he took the form of a servant; to love one another, because of his exceeding love; to be dead to sin, because he died for it; to consider ourselves as having partaken of his rising, and to set our affections on things above, because he has

left the earth and ascended into heaven, to carry, as it were, our hearts and longings with him. Now whilst the early writers preserved the practical side of the doctrine of the cross, and insisted, without ceasing, on the need of repentance and a living faith in Christ, they manifested, at the same time, as we have seen already, a growing tendency to push the bounds of speculation beyond the line of Scripture. They proclaimed most faithfully that the cross of Christ redeemed us from our sins; but they further inquired to whom the ransom was paid, what was the precise nature of the transaction, and whether the price was really sufficient, or only accepted as such; questions which cannot be without interest to the mind of man, ever musing upon many things, but which the word of God, explicit as it is upon all points needful to be known for salvation, does not encourage us to pursue. This objective tendency, this proneness to examine and fill up the scheme of salvation in itself, of which we might take the treatise of Anselm as the most favourable specimen, in the Schoolmen ran into a vicious extreme: and when we find Aquinas discussing the questions—whether any other mode of redemption would have been possible—whether

this mode was the most suitable—whether the pain that Jesus endured in his Passion was the greatest that could be (92)—we feel that the time is coming for the reassertion of the subjective side of this momentous truth, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save us sinners, to the exclusion of all questions that are devoid of a direct practical interest. This was the work of the Reformation; which was brought about (so far as human motives caused it) partly to shake off the domination of a hierarchy, but partly also to break the intolerable chains which an over-subtle logic was forging evermore for the conscience, struggling up towards God (93). “If he had wholly and fully given himself to the holy Scriptures,” said Luther of Peter Lombard, “then he had been indeed a great and principal doctor of the Church, but he confused his books with many unprofitable questions, sophisticating and mingling all together” (94). The Reformation, to speak broadly, was a return from speculation to practice, from barrenness to fruit; the sense of sin was strongly awakened, and the question rung through the convicted conscience—who shall deliver me from the body of this death? and the ingenious theories of a wisdom that professed to see beyond the stars,

and analyse the plans of him who sitteth between the cherubim, were put aside with some impatience, by those who thought it was enough to feel and believe with the heart that the blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth from all sin. It is not meant, of course, to assert either that the teachers who preceded the Reformation entirely neglected practical religion, or that the Reformers rejected absolutely the scholastic theology: only that the broad distinction between the two was the difference between a theoretical and a practical tendency. Now the progress of human thought requires to be frequently diverted from theory to practice: and it seems quite as necessary now as it was at the Reformation, to present the doctrine of the crucified Saviour in a practical aspect, on one side against a materialism which seeks all happiness in improvement of the physical condition, all truth in physical laws, and on the other, against a criticism which would take the Gospel of Christ out of the keeping of the religious sentiments altogether, and consign it to philosophy and scholarship. This, then, is the first proposition we have gained—that the scheme of Redemption is set forth in the Bible with sufficient clearness for all practical guidance, whilst the theory has not

been entirely unfolded, as being beside the grand purpose of revelation, the salvation of all men.

This proposition, which is equivalent to saying, that as the Gospel was written to convert the heart, it must not be tried by the standard of the mere intellect, should be borne in mind ; because the disappointment of the student will often be severe, when he is told that the judicial theory, elaborated by many thinkers of high intelligence and real piety, cannot as a whole be maintained, that the very symmetry and completeness which delight him are of human origin^a, and that he must be content instead with the simpler representations of holy Scripture, with the facts of an exemplary life that he must copy, and holy precepts that his heart must lovingly accept. He is not asked to abandon one theory in order to receive another ; but to relinquish all attempts to make a great mystery open and plain, and to believe it himself, and offer it to others, as a mystery, credible, but not yet wholly intelligible ; credible, because it meets our deepfelt wants, not yet intelligible, because it concerns God's infinite nature, and our minds are finite.

II. Then as to the nature of the transaction

^a See page 162. and notes 86—89.

itself. The Atonement is sometimes described only as the reconciliation of man to God, by those who think it unworthy of the divine unchangeable nature to affirm that God is reconciled to man. He, they say, was love from the beginning, and he proposed from the first to redeem the world by his Son, so that the life and passion of the Son, which took place in time, cannot have altered the unchangeable nature of the eternal Father (95). But this is no sufficient reason for deserting the Scripture representation: "Being now justified by his blood, we shall be saved *from wrath* through him^b," says the Apostle; and though God is not a man, to feel wrath, or the affections of love or pity or repentance, still we believe that these anthropomorphic representations are necessary for the acceptance of the doctrine as a practical rule. It is not so much a question whether God can feel wrath, and if not, what attribute of him it is that bears that earthly name, but whether we have something to fear from him which at least would work tribulation and anguish in us, just as if wrath it were. Nor is it really so easy to separate in thought the change in our state from an apparent change in his. To take

^b Rom. v. 9.

an illustration :—suppose the universe were cleared of star and planet, and in the infinite void one sun were suspended, and say if it is easy to determine whether that sun would give light or not. As light must be received before it is light, as the beam passes invisible through vacancy, and is only realised when some object confronts it, it seems that the orb must lavish his rays in vain upon the brute darkness, and light is not ; but then as he fulfils all the conditions of light, as, if you could launch the morning star into the sphere of his influence, it would at once feel and reflect the illumination, there must be light. And is it not so with the eternal Sun of Righteousness? We doubt not that from eternity the rays of his love have been given off through creation, and that he loved men as much when in days of heathen ignorance their foolish heart was darkened, as when they began to draw under the shelter of the cross, attracted thereto as to a marvellous manifestation of love ; but when all faces were averted, and would not come to the light, it was a useless light, for there were no recipients. Before the Gospel of Christ, as seen in the two dispensations, the world lay weltering in wickedness, and men wrought their own selfish will, and followed

their own imaginations ; and if here and there a teacher of nobler aspect lifted up his head, and uttered truth with stammering lips, as doubting the external sanction of that which seemed to enlighten the spirit within him, the din and confusion of men were not hushed to listen. After the Gospel of Christ, to them that believed was given power to become the sons of God ; every believer received the light of love and truth, and reflected back the light of his own love, and the earth became by degrees a firmament telling the handiwork of God. The most fastidious metaphysician should not grudge us the expressions, that God was wrath and is grace, that he was estranged from us and is reconciled ; because such words describe the true state of things from a practical point of view, because it is an innocent, a reverent, a consolatory mode of speaking. This then is the second proposition at which we have arrived—the Atonement is the act by which God and man are reconciled, he to us and we to him.

III. In the third place, the Atonement was effected by a Mediator, who not only stood between God and man, but partook of the true nature of both. As man, he was touched with the feeling of our infirmities,

though without sin, and could teach men as one of themselves, whose face they could behold and live; he could suffer for them a punishment which he, the only sinless one, did not owe. As God, he was free from sin, able to teach the whole will of the Father, able to know all their thoughts and wants, able to gather and keep those whom the Father had given him. His whole work consisted of three parts, instruction in the truth, expiation of sin, and the foundation of a kingdom or Church; and he has therefore been regarded in a threefold character as our Prophet, our Priest, and our King; a division of offices, which, if not founded on express words of Scripture, seems certainly consonant with its teaching (96). Now as the union of the divine and human nature took place at the Incarnation of our Lord, we may regard that event as one principal part of our Redemption. When the Word was made flesh, the separation between God and man was at an end; although the sufferings that followed were required to complete the reconciliation between them. The Atonement, then, began at the Incarnation (97).

IV. But fourthly, the sinless life of Jesus contributed also to our redemption. He grew in wisdom and stature, he came and

went among men, he taught, reasoned, disputed, consoled, that it might be proved to men and before the righteous Father, that though divine power dwelt in him, shone out in his miracles, and enforced his words with authority, he was like unto us his brethren in all things except sin; and was fit to be an example and teacher of holiness, an obedient servant in pleading for a people that fell by the disobedience of one, and, lastly, a sinless offering for their redemption. "For such a high priest became us, who is holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners, and made higher than the heavens; who needeth not daily, as those high priests, to offer up sacrifice, first for his own sins, and then for the people's: for this he did once, when he offered up himself. For the law maketh men high priests which have infirmity; but the word of the oath, which was since the law, maketh the Son, who is consecrated for evermore^c." But more, the offering made for us must be entirely voluntary; "No man taketh [my life] from me, but I lay it down of myself. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again^d." The justice of God required this; the love of man lays hold chiefly upon this; the just God will not have a sacrifice that must be bound

^c Heb. vii. 26.

^d John x. 18.

with cords to the horns of the altar, to atone for the sins of others; he will not accept a captive taken in war, who must be forced to his immolation, gagged and chained; nor yet bulls and goats, that have no understanding of the death that awaits them. Our love to the Redeemer depends upon the belief, that a free and conscious atonement was made by him for us. "The life which I now live in the flesh," says St. Paul, "I live by the faith of the Son of God, *who loved me, and gave himself for me*^d." Now perhaps we have not considered what is required to constitute an act entirely free. Actions are suffered to pass for voluntary which certainly are so in a very limited sense (98). In those deeds we look on with most complacency, the share of our own will is often small indeed; baser motives mingle with and sully the higher; if we fix our direct gaze upon the law of the conscience and of God, there are not wanting side-glances at human praise, at peace, at profit. Then, much of our boasted freedom depends on our being sheltered from temptations: if you withdraw the pressure of public opinion, of social position imperiled, of custom, of physical satisfaction, appetites and tendencies for which we frequently express our

^d Gal. ii. 20.

own abhorrence, may burst up within us. But all our complex nature influences our actions ; there is not a thought, a yearning, an appetite, that does not strive at least to have its share in guiding our hand. The course we describe is the sum of all the moral forces in operation in our being. This consideration takes down our pride, and guards us against idolatry of men. This makes that startling estimate of the noble deeds of the heathen, that, after all, they are but splendid sins (99), almost literally true ; for all is sinful that proceeds not from a purged and chastened will, which nothing but the love of God, confirmed by habits of obedience to his law, can confer. But the offering up of Christ for us was to be conscious and voluntary in the fullest sense. The full extent of the suffering must be known ; the unworthiness of those he ransomed, tried and exposed ; the choice, unbiased, calm and settled ; and therefore he who offered must be free in will, and consequently holy in life. We range through history, and find a thousand instances of that cheaper self-devotion, by which men, upborne by heat and passion, have confronted danger or welcomed death ; until we almost wonder that it should ever have been said, “ Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay

down his life for his friends^f." But he is not truly a free man who rushes upon his death drunk with the fume and tumult of the battle, with praise before him and shame behind; nor he whom difficulties have hemmed in unawares, and who bears up against them manfully, because this is on the whole the wisest course, and does not compromise his pride. He is free in truth, who, like the blessed Redeemer of the world, knows no will but that of his Father in heaven; who, when the true course of duty once appears, needs not to call in any baser principle to give the spur to his intention, or to overbear his fears; with whom the pride of an external consistency, and the pleasures of sense, and the world's theatrical applause, are wholly excluded from the list of motives. This then is our next proposition. The sinlessness of Jesus contributed to our redemption, because disobedience must be atoned for by obedience, because that which is offered for the life of others must not be itself forfeit, and because a perfectly free offering cannot be made but by a perfectly sinless will.

V. It will not be necessary to advert again in detail to those passages of Scripture which establish our next proposition, that

^f John xv. 13.

we are reconciled to God by the blood and the death of Christ. All the attempts to explain away the meaning of these texts strike at the very life of the Gospel history; we must either admit that the redemption of man was effected chiefly by the death of the Son, or we must disbelieve his own discourses, and hold that the wonderful success of the apostolic preaching was the triumph of a lie. In this truth lies the great mystery of our salvation. No theory can prove antecedently that the just ought to have suffered for the unjust. "The great goodness and clemency of God," says the Roman Catechism, "should be proclaimed with the highest praises and thanksgivings; for he has conceded to human weakness that one may satisfy for another" (100). But that one should have the power to sum up all men in himself, and to take upon him the sins and punishment of all, is a more marvellous proof still of the divine bounty. Though we have proved the universality of vicarious sacrifice in the ancient heathen world, the doctrine of a crucified Saviour giving his life for us is still difficult to the understanding of cultivated men. But, let it be repeated, this truth, like the rest, must be viewed in the light of practice,

not of speculation. Systems of ethics may be made without it; plausible reasonings devised against it. But from the judgment of the world, from minds possessed with prejudice and dazzled by the near and visible, to the exclusion of the distant and unseen, there lies an appeal. Ask the man who is no longer able to find consolation in the smiles or the reasonings of his brothers, who is shut up, as it were, in his own heart, with the insufferable presence of his sins, with his eye just opened to perceive what sin truly is, whether those promises of God's word, which announce forgiveness, justification, reconciliation, redemption, through the healing blood of the Saviour, are to be lightly rejected. To such a one they are life from the dead. If they are proved untrue, he is left to the imbecility of his own corrupt will, to fruitless sorrow, to desperate fear. It may be said indeed that if we must await the hour of the spirit's terror and desolation, in order to prove to it the doctrine of the cross, then the doctrine may be a delusion, at which the prostrate and the abject catch, to which the brave and good are indifferent or hostile. But though it finds easier entrance in time of dejection, it has a restoring, invigorating power, that per-

vades all the energies of life. We cannot but confess that in every attribute of manliness the Christian character excels all others. For the practical lesson which the passion of Jesus teaches, is, that the most holy God abhors sin; and all purity, all constancy in right purposes, all noble aims, all desires to help them that are out of the way, must spring out of that conviction. This proposition, then, may likewise be considered as proved—that Christ gave his life a ransom for us. And as the Scriptures distinctly assert that he takes away the sin of the world, it may be added that the ransom was given for all mankind, although many refuse to use their interest in it (101).

VI. The resurrection of Christ is connected with our redemption, as it is the miracle which proves that God accepted him and his work, and that he is able to fulfil his promise of raising us from the dead. All that was required for our reconciliation was accomplished by the death upon the cross; and therefore the Apostle's words, that Jesus Christ "was delivered for our offences, and was raised again for our justification[§]," cannot be intended to set forth the resurrection as the act by which we are justified; but only that

§ Romans iv. 25.

by which we come to the knowledge and assurance of justification (102). When Jesus rose and ascended, he sent the Holy Spirit upon his Church, by the light of which men learnt to remember and believe on him who was their righteousness; and thus the resurrection tended to justification, but did not effect it.

We are now in a position to describe the Atonement by combining these statements. It is that transaction by which men are redeemed from sin and death, and reconciled to God, as he is to them. It is a mystery; which can be apprehended by faith, because it answers perfectly to an idea of reconciliation which all forms of religion have striven to express, and which each individual has felt at some time and in some measure. But it cannot be made intelligible in a complete theory, because it has no parallel in human experience. It was effected by the Incarnation of the eternal Son and Word of God, who thus became a Mediator between God and man, as uniting the perfection of the two natures in himself; who in that character rendered an entire obedience to the Law which men had broken, acceptable to God instead of theirs; and who carried his obedience unto death, that by his sacrifice of him-

self, freely made, the guilt of sin might be manifested, at the same time that God's love and forgiveness were secured. His resurrection gave assurance that man's justification was complete; for it proved that he had power to take again the life he had laid down, and was the conqueror of death and the grave. The Ascension was his resumption of his own glory and majesty; and he still receives gifts for men, and makes intercession for them, and in the end of the world he shall separate those who have accepted from those who have refused the salvation freely offered to all.

Now without condemning indiscriminately all the attempts at a speculative Christology, it is evident, upon the most superficial view of history, that they result in disjointed and partial views of a truth, which from a practical point of view can be regarded as one harmonious whole. They offer us sometimes a plan of the work of God in redemption, in which no account is made of man's interest in it; they part asunder the person of Christ, one but twofold, and assign the chief share of the Atonement to one nature or the other; they divide his acts from his sufferings, though, as we have seen, the two were intimately blended; they ap-

portion out, with a precision not warranted by Scripture, the share in the work which the Incarnation, or the Obedience, or the Crucifixion sustained. On the other hand, he who resorts to the inspired writings in order to draw near to Christ, as to one who can remove the sore burden of sin, and to believe on his power, and to learn his precepts, will have an image of him and his work formed in his consciousness far more true and real than any express theory could have embodied. And this is no mystical dream. We tell the student that art is long and life short, and surround him with beautiful forms, and bid him study and copy them faithfully for years, till his spirit is saturated with beauty, before we suffer him to reproduce: we refuse to confide the conduct of great affairs to any on whom the furrows of thought and toil are not written as a guarantee for his experience. And if the artist and the statesman require a training and a preparation before they realize the perfection of their powers, it is not too much to say that though the knowledge of the divine scheme of salvation must begin in a deep-felt need of a Saviour, and though salvation is brought within the reach of the simplest, so that he that believes is at once justified; still the full understand-

ing of the ways of the Holy One must open by degrees on those who walk in holiness ; and it would be an unreasonable impatience to complain that on the first serious effort all difficulties do not disappear.

But the tendency of speculation to divide the doctrine of redemption, and by consequence to divide Christians into sects, might be illustrated from the present state of opinion. In the Socinian scheme, the greatest stress is laid upon the teaching and the resurrection of Jesus, whilst his sufferings and death sink into a subordinate place. His resurrection it is which assures us of the power of God to redeem his people from all dangers and death ; whilst his sufferings were an example of patience and constancy, and a sign that he who had tasted all the bitterness of the worst afflictions would know how to aid his disciples in their trials. The notion of a sacrifice this system rejects, because it is repugnant to Scripture, because a temporary death would be an inadequate expiation for the eternal death owed by man, and because a vicarious sacrifice would encourage sin or make us slothful in well-doing (103). As to the first reason, many of our own divines have shown conclusively that holy Scripture is against the Socinian view ; the second reason

assumes that we can measure the worth of the sufferings of the Lord, as Aquinas, Scotus, and the Lutheran theologians had already assumed the same, though with another purpose; and the third reason, that a forgiveness by sacrifice encourages license, must surely operate with equal force against the doctrine of *immediate* forgiveness held by the Socinians themselves.

The rationalistic scheme attenuates the worth of the Redeemer's death to that of a mere symbol of reconciliation and of the abolition of the Jewish sacrifices, with which stronger minds can well afford to dispense, though it may still be held up to the weaker (104).

The mythical theory, explained more fully in the fourth Lecture, rejects the historical account, partly as unfounded, and partly as needless; it sees in the Gospel history a representation that has sprung out of the unconscious invention of the generation in which Christianity was founded, not of what really befell one individual, but of what the whole human race is doing and seeking after. The union of spirit and matter in us (to repeat what was then said) is the true Incarnation; the conquest of mind over matter is the working of miracles; the gradual elevation out of the gross, sensual material life into

the heavenly and spiritual, which marks the course of human civilization, is represented in the death, resurrection, and ascension ascribed to an individual in the Gospels. This is not the occasion to vindicate the historical character of the sacred books, nor to expose the enormous difficulties that attach to this scheme, regarded as mere matter of speculation^h. But tried by any practical test, it dwindles into the most miserable mockery of religion. Go to the bed of some remorseful sufferer, whose life is suspended over that abyss which no mortal eyesight can explore, with the last strands of the cord cracking and parting asunder, whose belief in immortality is only the stronger now that his veins are filled with death, and his dull senses refuse their work, and open the Bible to which he has been accustomed to look, not very carefully perhaps, for the charter and assurance of his hopes in that other country; and tell him that it contains, wrapped up in figures and stories, a theory of human nature and of human progress; and what will he answer? "If I am to spend my last strength and thoughts over this book that you have preached as a history, important for all to learn, in doubtfully disentangling a hidden

^h See notes 59 to 63.

truth from the obvious falsehood, and if, after all, that truth does not assure me that my individual sins are hidden and covered before that Judge in whose presence I shall soon stand naked and ashamed, you may take away the dead volume out of which you have juggled the life and help, and I will cover my face and meet the hour of terror like the heathens of old, with nothing to come between God and my vague feelings of hope and piety."

According to another theory, intended to mediate between Rationalism and the theology of the Church, the Christian finds that from his position in the Church, or Christian community, he enjoys a clearer consciousness of God, and greater aid in freeing himself from evil and sensuality, than if he were isolated or placed in some merely worldly society. This aid towards holiness must either have come from God, or from the human beings who make up the Church: but the latter is impossible, because *each* feels his own sinfulness and confesses it, and holiness cannot result from the aggregation of many unholy natures. It is traceable, then, to the Founder of the society, that is, to Christ. He has communicated to us his full consciousness of God, and, in the light of

that, we can set our affections on things above, can overcome the hinderances to a good life which our social state at its best must cast in our way, can even cease to regard the troubles and pains that infest our lower life as evils, because they have no effect in obscuring our view of the Deity. The expiation and redemption which the Saviour wrought consisted in his taking upon him our sinful human nature, and enduring all its evils, in order to receive us into communion with him. This theory lays stress almost exclusively upon the Incarnation, as being that which we can securely infer from the Christian consciousness; the Miracles, the Resurrection, and Ascension, are not in the same sense essential to Christianity, because, though historically true, they are not required in order to account for the fact with which we set out, namely, the exalted knowledge of God, and capacity for holiness which our Christian position confers (105).

Lastly, in direct contrast to this subjective method, the pantheistic theory offers itself, which seeks a ground of the Atonement wholly objective, in the nature of the Deity. According to this, the life of the Divine Being is known to us under three forms; first, as pure and independent being, prior

to creation ; next, as unfolding itself in the creation of the universe and therein of finite minds ; and, lastly, in the recall or return of the creation to the Infinite Spirit. As the progress, so to speak, into the finite attains its furthest point, when God allows of sin and death, it is then, and in connexion with these, that the need of reconciliation is most evident. And the work of Christ consists in this, that by exhibiting his twofold nature, divine and human, and so encountering suffering and death, he awakens men to the knowledge of the possibility of reconcilment between the finite nature and the infinite. The work of the Holy Spirit is to carry into the minds of all the same consciousness of a union with God, which the life of Jesus was intended to display. Thus the three points or moments of the divine life answer to three kingdoms ; that of the Father ; that of the Son, in which the infinite creates the finite, and at the same time proves by a living example of their union that both are divine ; and that of the Holy Ghost, in which all men are to be brought to a living, daily consciousness of the reality of the union. Enough of this abstruse theory may perhaps be understood, to see that it describes the reconcilment of God with himself rather

than that of man to God. It excludes alike God's righteousness and his love ; it knows not divine grace nor human will ; it is a description of a supposed *necessary* development of the divine nature, and not a scheme that meets our practical wants and interests (106).

Thus we have glanced at some of the many combinations which the kaleidoscope of human thought has thrown together. If time had allowed of a more orderly historical inquiry, the views with which the names of Osiander, Piscatorius, Grotius, and others are connected, might have been cited to strengthen our position (107). But it is evident from what has been adduced, that speculative inquiry alone will not lead us to Christ, will not form in us all one and the same image. Let me not be supposed to assume the right to blame others for a fault into which, too probably, my own attempts to explain this subject have often betrayed me : a theory almost compels a counter theory ; and many a pious believer that would gladly have looked upon the cross of the Lord with an unquestioning adoration, has been forced to rise from his knees and enter the strife, and choose his side. Happy are we that the influence of these disputes is

more distantly and indirectly felt in this country. But felt it is; and if the day comes for defending the truth against closer attacks, it is by disencumbering ourselves of human additions to holy writ, and by preaching the cross of Christ as a practical truth, that we must contend. Why should we stand gazing up into the mysteries of heaven which have not been brought down to earth, with idle feet and hands that hang down? We feel and know that one fervent prayer, one deed of compassion, one drunken orgy avoided, one act of lust foregone, will teach us more of the truth of Christ than months spent in the curious idleness of speculation. If at the age when noble resolves are most easy to form, most permanent in their impression, we could but determine to live for our ascended Lord, and to carry his name both by our example and exertions somewhat further into that waste of ignorance which the smallest parish or hamlet may present, we should lay hold by degrees upon the knowledge of his work far more surely than by the mere understanding. And though we cannot foreorder our own life; though God may have determined for good to feed us with the bread of tears, and give us tears

to drink in great measureⁱ; though he may cover our high hopes with an obscure life, or cause the strong limbs to wither, or the bright light of intelligence to grow dim; still there is in the consciousness of reconciliation with him, attested to us by a growing purity of life, something which cannot be taken away, something which shall be a fountain of peace here, and by which the Lord will remember and recognise us in his kingdom.

ⁱ Psalm lxxx. 5.

LECTURE VIII.

MATTHEW XXVIII. 20.

Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.

THE traveller in the Silesian mountains has often heard with surprise the words of greeting which the country people employ instead of the more usual form—"Praised be Jesus Christ!" (108). He is struck with this attempt on the part of well-meaning teachers to bring into the very highways and hedges the memory of Christ's salvation. It is true, that careless custom has clipped and contracted the syllables; and that the holy thought they should express seems often to fail of lighting up even for a moment the cloud of worldly care and hardship that hangs fixed upon the face. But this will only make the practice in question more interesting, to one who reflects that Christians in all countries in one respect resemble the Silesian peasant, that they are trying, or professing to carry about in their daily life, the

remembrance of the work of Jesus, as he carries it on his lips, whilst yet the witness of their actions to the power of Christ is stammering and confused like his words. And the question we are to answer to day must often have suggested itself to those who have so patiently followed the present Course of Lectures. How shall we appropriate to ourselves the redeeming work of Christ, so that it may create in us a spirit of gratitude to God, and purity and holiness?

If we divide the means of coming to a knowledge of Christ into intellectual, moral, and sacramental, it must not be supposed that these classes are mutually exclusive. No argument upon such a subject can be addressed to the intellect, that does not presuppose a certain moral state; without humility, and a consciousness of sin, there will be no need of a Saviour, and therefore proofs of his actual advent will be viewed with indifference at the best, and probably with hostility. Again, no sacrament can have its full effect without repentance and faith, in other words, without a certain state of knowledge and of the will. Lastly, no moral discipline ought to bring us to believe that which is repugnant to our reason (109). Still

we may divide the helps to Christian knowledge into these three classes, according to the prominent, but not the exclusive, character of each.

I. All reasoning upon the work of our blessed Redeemer must begin from the conception of sin. The whole creation, man excepted, acknowledges, though unconsciously, that God is its only Lord and King. One will guides all things with unerring precision; through the rolling firmament that marks the hours and years and cycles, through the world with its seedtime and harvest, and frost, in the hive of the bee, and the beaver's hut, and the lion's lair, the will and Spirit of God breathes, and blows all things whither it listeth. There are no rebellious stars, no inversions of the seasons, no brute creatures that become conscious of the laws of their instinct, and turn and refuse to obey them. Resistance to God begins with that creature that alone knows him. Man turns from God to do that which is right in his own eyes; he makes himself the law for himself; he is selfish, and therefore he is sinful. But conscience will not leave him tranquil in his isolation. He knows that God is, and suspects that he is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him. And whe-

ther he seeks refuge in a philosophic apathy, hopeless of a nearer approach to the high and holy One who inhabits eternity ; or in spasms and agonies of self-renunciation imagines schemes of reconciliation, and drags to the altar the most precious victims he can procure, and slays them with shrieks before the awful presence, mingling sometimes his own blood with theirs ; in either mood, he bears witness, as we have urged already^a, to the need of atonement and reconciliation, not as a feeling or a sentiment only within him, but as the logical consequence, so to speak, of the admissions that the Deity exists, and that he himself is estranged from him. But the scriptural scheme of reconciliation seems to include every condition that reason can exact. What can give greater assurance of reconciliation between God and man than the visible union of these two natures ? What can more strongly stamp the hatefulness of sin than the greatness of the sufferings by which it was removed ? What could more appropriately condemn and destroy selfishness than a renunciation out of love and compassion of the glory of God's throne and an assumption of the human nature, debased and corrupt, that was to be redeemed ? What

^a Lecture II.

could better secure men in their reconciled condition than an example, pure and perfect, of the life they ought to lead and the temper they ought to exhibit? The passion of Jesus does, what the heathen proposed by his sacrifices, turn away the wrath of God, and that by shedding of blood; it does set forth a high priest who will worship for us, yet whom we may also worship; it dispels all doubts as to our connexion with and interest in the sacrifice, for here the victim is himself a man, with whom we may by love and trust and imitation unite ourselves more surely than a people to their king, or brethren to their brother. The passion of Jesus makes it possible to conceive of the union of infinite justice with infinite mercy in one and the same divine nature. In working this out into a theory, the analogy of an earthly transaction has been pushed indeed too far; and in particular, Anselm, in describing the Redeemer's coming only as something necessary to repair the ravages of sin, seems to exclude all Christian joy from the contemplation of his life and working. Intimately connected with our sins as every part of them must be, the tears that seem proper to his Cross and Passion should be shed also at his manger-cradle. But if, out of the myste-

rious counsel of God, the guilt of man gave cause, not merely for its reparation, but for the revelation of him in whom dwelt all the fulness of the Godhead bodily, if man's disobedience gave occasion for the advent of him who was the perfection of created things, we may dwell with wonder upon what has been boldly called the fortunate transgression (*felix culpa*), which, terrible and deplorable in its consequences to us, was yet made the cause of adding to the creation its flower and crown and glory, the sinless man, the Redeemer. And thus, among the many sides of this mystery, there is room for joy and sorrow, for Christmas and for Passion-week ; for we indeed are leprous with sin, and defiled and loathsome, and grief becomes us well ; but just because we have been sitting long by the wayside with dust upon our heads and heaviness in our hearts, brooding on our impurities, shall the King of Glory pass by, to speak the word that shall heal us, and the world shall see his glory that else had been concealed, and shall lift up Hosannahs of joy to him who is their wisdom and righteousness and sanctification and redemption, who came to declare that Father that all had been obscurely feeling after (110). It is in attempting to

remedy this defect of Anselm's system that the strength of the pantheistic theory, itself erroneous and defective, consists. That God should create finite natures, rising in regular progression nearer and nearer to himself, and that he should thus contemplate himself in his own works, this theory regards as necessary to the divine nature. In allowing sin and death, he, as it were, advances to the furthest point in the region of the finite; in creating finite souls, with the power to know him, the infinite Being, he begins to return. And when the Son of God comes into the world, and exhibits in his own person the divine and human nature, so as to convince men of the possibility of reconciling divine and human, infinite and finite, his appearance is just as truly an integral part of the divine plan as the creation of the universe itself; the creation would have been incomplete without that essential step in the process by which God, who first planted it off from himself, subdues and recalls it all unto himself again. Upon the errors of this system I touched in the last Lecture; and they need, perhaps, with my present hearers, no caution from me. Nor must we omit to recall the argument from Christian consciousness, among the intellectual helps to

the appropriation of the doctrine of redemption. The member of a Christian church can form a purer and clearer notion of God than others less favoured; he can see more beauty in holiness, and less allurements in sin; he is surrounded by fewer temptations to vice and sensuality; he can pray more freely and confidently; in a word, he is part of a community in which moral improvement and knowledge of God are secured in an unequalled degree. In seeking an adequate cause for this superiority of his position he must exclude human agents, because the component members of the Church are frail, like himself, and each for himself realizes, or may do so, the same contrast between his own sinfulness and the advantages of his position as a Christian. His thoughts are naturally directed to the Founder of the Church as the source of the blessings he enjoys. In the union of the divine and human natures in Christ he finds the origin of his own greater knowledge, his longings for holiness, and his higher hopes. And so long as we do not attempt to pare and clip the Gospel-history to suit the demands of this kind of argument, it is both safe and necessary. To account for Christendom, some preternatural cause is required; and it seems

a conclusive objection against the mythical method of interpretation that it destroys the adequate cause we possess, the revelation of God in the person of Christ, without suggesting another that is fit to satisfy even the most obvious requirements. But we must not, on the other hand, assume that the cause in question will be just such, and so great, as to account for our view of the effect; and when Schleiermacher, the chief expositor of the doctrine of Christian consciousness, decides that the immaculate conception, the miracles, the resurrection and ascension of our Lord, are not essential to his theory in the same sense as the incarnation and the passion, we see how defective the theory itself must be; for if there is one event in the Gospels on which Christian hope is taught to fasten, as the victory over death, and the assurance of our immortality, and the pledge of our justification, it is the Resurrection of the Lord (111).

But why these remarks upon the philosophy of salvation? not to gain disciples for Irenæus, or Gregory Nazianzen, or Anselm, or the later theorists whom we have been discussing; still less to recommend the construction of an eclectic Christology to which all past thinkers may contribute that portion

of truth, that gave influence and endurance to their schemes, in other respects perhaps erroneous. But let it be at least admitted, that the scheme by which man is redeemed from death by the Saviour's blood is not merely a crude and artificial analogy from human things, in which all that reason has to do is to make a plausible defence against the charge of injustice in allowing the innocent to perish for the guilty. The idea of mediation is as old and deepseated as religion itself; in the Christian view of it, minds pious and profound have discovered truths and awakened harmonies that have helped them to understand the purposes of the Creator and the mystery of their own being. The study of the speculations of Irenæus and Anselm might well be added by the theologian to that of the urbane dialectic and splendid assumptions of Plato, and of the verbal subtleties and keen practical sense of Aristotle. But this great design refuses to be girt in by the narrow rim of any human system. Meditate as we will, the permitted existence of evil in the realm of the Omnipotent Lord, and all the consequences that follow from it, will be matter of wonder, and not of scientific analysis. And yet no one shall turn his thoughts to this subject,

in a spirit of eager yet reverent inquiry, but shall be enabled, we may well hope, to see Christ as “the power of God and the wisdom of God.”

II. But the moral conditions for such an inquiry may not be neglected. “If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me^b.” Great must be the power of the teacher over his people, who can say this. It is the power of the general who has shared the soldiers’ hard fare, and wrapped himself in the same coarse cloak, and taken rest upon the same wet ground as they, and whom they will follow to a man, through fire and carnage, till the strife is done. The ambassadors of Jesus Christ preach a holiness of life that has been shown on earth already. With what face would the messengers of a glorious and prosperous king, such as the Jews desired their Messiah should be, go into the reeking lanes and courts of our towns, where suffering heaped on suffering festers and ferments, or stand by the sleepless bed of sickness, or call on the mourner to lift up his hidden face and hearken, if their message only came to this, that a prince in purple, faring sumptuously, vouchsafed to remind them that suffer-

^b Matt. xvi. 24.

ing made men perfect, and trials of faith wrought patience, and the sick and wretched were beloved of God? Would not the messengers be struck dumb by the obvious retort—"If the Lord cares for suffering, and knows that it is good, it is strange that he has chosen to manifest himself in luxury and splendour. He is great and high; we are weak, and tempted beyond our strength; we have nothing in common with him." But as it is, the story of the Gospel must ever gain the ear of the poor and wretched, so long as the sound of sympathy is dear to the aching human heart. It is a story of one who mixed with men in all their conditions and tempers, dealing tenderly with all; of one who preached good tidings to the meek, and bound up the broken-hearted, and proclaimed liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that were bound, and gave to them that mourned in Zion beauty for ashes, the oil of joy for mourning, the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness; of one, who, in spite of all good works, was despised and rejected, a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief, until he made his grave with the wicked; of one, who yet was highly exalted of God, and whose name is raised above every name. Even if the secret aids of grace and

the Spirit were put aside, there would be a natural influence in such a record, that none but the very hardened could entirely resist (112).

It is the strength of our religion that our High Priest is touched with the feeling of our infirmities, and has set us the example of overcoming them. No one wonders that Christianity has raised, and is raising, the humblest human person into a respect unknown so long as man's pride and strength gave laws; for the divine mission of Christ began among the humble, and conquered princes and emperors last. The care for sickness and suffering is but natural, in the followers of one who proved himself to be God and Lord by miracles wrought to remove such evils. The consolations that we offer to the unhappy—the worth of which can be fully known to the unhappy alone—acquire their reality from their connexion with him who suffered to save the world. But if the Gospel finds its way among the wretched and humble, because of a kindred element in it with which they can sympathise, the consequence is plain, that it cannot find entrance into minds whose prevailing mood is pride and selfishness. If Christ had been only a more glorious Solomon or a better Herod, he could not have been the friend of the captive

or the guide of the penitent. But now he is the humble Son of man, preaching a gospel of self-denial during a life of many sorrows; and *we* try to reign as kings without him, throned on our own self-esteem, carefully exacting the tribute of the regards of others, and turning life into a feast and rejoicing. And who can wonder that we miss the drift of the divine message—that the cross of Christ suggests to us neither divine power nor divine wisdom? Let us humbly return to those warning words—“If any man will come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross, and follow me.” Let us very reverently ask what they signify.

That sin is selfishness has been often put before my hearers, but not more often than a truth so fundamental requires^c; and it follows of course that renouncement of sin is self-denial. Our Redeemer represents his own holiness, as consisting in his renunciation of all merely human self-dependence, and living in and upon the will of the Father. “I seek not mine own will, but the will of the Father which hath sent me^d.” And St. Paul exhibits this, “Even Christ pleased not himself; but as it is written, The reproaches of them that reproached thee fell on me^e.”

^c See p. 19 and note 14. ^d John v. 30. ^e Rom. xv. 3.

Standing out in the strongest contrast to the self-denying spirit of holiness, does the same apostle exhibit the self-asserting, self-pleasing spirit of evil, as it is to reveal itself at the end of the world, when the man of sin, the son of perdition, shall oppose and exalt himself above all that is called God, or is worshipped, so that he as God shall sit in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God^f. Now, as we might expect, the inward change that in some form or other must show itself in every man that has turned from sin to follow God, is described in Scripture as an abandonment of the selfish principle. "None of us liveth to himself, and no man dieth to himself. For whether we live, we live unto the Lord, and whether we die we die unto the Lord; whether we live therefore or die, we are the Lord's. For to this end Christ both died and rose again and revived, that he might be Lord both of the dead and living^g." "In lowliness of mind let each esteem other better than themselves. Look not every man on his own things, but every man also on the things of others. Let this mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus^h." In that parable in which man's estrangement is so aptly yet so profoundly

^f 2 Thess. ii. 3, 4. ^g Rom. xiv. 7—9. ^h Phil. ii. 3—5.

illustrated, the essential feature in the prodigal son's transgression is his wish to be independent of his father, to take his share of goods to himself, and go on his way ; as that of his reconciliation is, that he dwells with his father, using all that he has as his own. Now how should any one who has allowed religious doubts to enter his mind reason upon these statements? "I find it hard," we will suppose him to say, "to answer critical objections to the history of the Bible, and harder still to find and keep up a real living relation between those facts which commence with the birth and end with the ascension of Jesus, and my own needs. That God, who usually acts by laws controlling large masses of facts, should have bound up the salvation of his people with one pattern man, born in Judæa and not elsewhere, when Herod held weakly, by foreign permission, the tarnished sceptre of God's failing people, and at no other time, seems strange and hard to parallel. If the culminating period of the glory of Rome, when she made the same name serve to designate her own empire and the whole inhabited world, had been connected with the Redeemer's advent, and Rome had been the herald, as she *was* the persecutor, of the Gospel, then the power of her empire and

the success of Christianity would have been explained as cause and effect reciprocally of each other. Or if when England and America had fastened the Anglo-Saxon speech like a girdle round the world, our common race had been made the messengers of new tidings of peace to all nations, which our greatness, our energy, our success might have recommended and enforced, some natural proportion between means and results would have been discernible to any eyes. But the small and weak beginnings of that system of belief that issued from an upper-room at Jerusalem, where one quaternion of soldiers might, by all human calculation, have trampled it out under their feet, appear so different from other divine operations, that scepticism regards their success as challenging the explanation of accidents or of natural causes. Yet why should I seek only for physical and social analogies to justify this supposed strangeness of the ways of the Most High? If, on a closer study, I find that the Gospel sets forth the highest example of self-denial and of pleasing God—and if sin proves on reflection to be the exact opposite of self-denial, a self-seeking spirit—then here, in the history of this divine man, would seem to be the proper field on which to seek the condemnation of sin and death,

and the reconciliation of man with God. If selfishness is that which has polluted the world from the beginning, and one unselfish, and therefore sinless Being has manifested himself to make many like him, then is he greater than the greatest, and I cannot wonder that the battle with sin gathers round him, and that nations of men should adore him, because they feel that he has conquered it. The reason, then, that I feel there is anything little or contemptible in the Gospel-history, is, that I try it by physical or social tests, rather than by moral. A conqueror is called great, with the world's full consent, because every one can mark the track of his devastation. A physical discoverer is great: a nation with a wide commerce and a growing population is great. But the more obscure greatness of one who has overcome sin in himself, and discovered anew to the earth the lost light of God, and sent out messengers, few and weak, but with sure credentials, to carry it abroad, is to a discerning eye something far more excellent.—But what is it in me which prevents me from discerning moral grandeur, and ranking it the highest? It is the selfishness, still unreclaimed, that makes my own moral nature coarse and low. A man could not discern the sun, says Plo-

tinus, unless there were something sunlike in his own eye (113). Warned by the blindness of those who in all ages have put martyrs to death, destroying in God's name that which had the spirit of God, and cheered on the other hand by the examples of those who have found the Gospel to be a light and a living reality, I will turn my attention, not so much to external arguments upon Christian truth, as to the internal sense that is to receive them, not to the quality of the light, but, before all things, to the singleness of my own eye. Returning to a simpler life, and calling back the vague affections that have been allowed to range too freely through sin and frivolity, I shall discern my own position better. It was a miserable self-deceit, to suppose that senses drowned in wine, or lusts inflamed by indulgence, or extravagance that was undermining a home and health, sacred from me at least, because the pure flame of a love I did not requite was burning there, could ever suffer me to understand the depth of the riches of his love who suffered to save the world. He suffered for men ; and what part or lot can those have in such a one, who feed fat their selfishness on the sufferings of others ? For there can be no sin that does not involve others in its ruin ; the min-

isters of base pleasures, the boon-companions that borrow our recklessness to aid in drowning the last protests of their conscience, the creditors that trust us, the father that has garnered up his hopes in us, the general circle of which we are part, whose moral tone declines under the weight of our example, these all suffer because we sin. And so sin makes the sinner an Ishmael, with his hand against every man, and every man's hand against him; whilst piety brings into view the deep relations that bind a man to his fellows. Duties to a parent's love, duties to the feebler moral nature of companions, duties of example, duties to the poor, come up to light; and a man finds that he is a branch on the great stem of the human family, drawing through it from God, who sustains it, the common life that circulates throughout. And who shall best understand the love of Christ? The sinner in his isolation, or the good man in his love and sympathy? The most prominent difficulty in the scheme of redemption is, that Christ should be able to sum up in himself (so Irenæus expresses itⁱ) the whole human species, and thus as one, suffer for all. How one should sin for all, as Adam did, and how one should atone

ⁱ See Page 154, and note 80.

for all, as our Redeemer did, it is hard to understand; but only a mind in which love has at least begun to work can realize the fact of a universal redemption wrought by one. Thus then are self-denial, and the bearing of the cross, and imitation of Christ, a preparation for knowledge of God, as well as conditions of salvation."

And hence we may understand how it is, that, whilst the creation of the world occupies but a few verses in the sacred history, the restoration of it fills so large a space; and why the one was wrought by the mere fiat of the Almighty, who "spake, and it was done; who commanded, and it stood fast^k;" whilst years of suffering and contradiction were lengthened out in effecting the other. Men are to study there the anatomy of self-denial; they are to watch that sacred life, until "the depth of the riches both of the knowledge and wisdom of God^l" dawn upon their hearts. Not in a moment, nor in a single act, can that pure and perfect life be understood. He who is the brightness of God's glory and the express image of his person, the equal of God, the King of kings, the Lord of angels, to whom all power in heaven and in earth is given,

^k Psalm xxxiii. 9.

^l Romans xi. 33.

passed a life on earth, among those who opposed or misunderstood him, in doing miracles for men and suffering evil from them, until he finished his work by his death. His life lies open in the sacred pages in all its articulate details, that all who have sinned, in all countries and times whither his word shall come, may become, not his servants, but his personal disciples, and see, better than Peter, James, or John, because they may use the lights cast back from all history to aid them, the full significance of all his labours, watchings, and instruction, of his patience and meekness, his wisdom and love.

III. Besides intellectual and moral helps to the realization of scriptural truth, sacramental aids were to be considered. A sacrament is an act in which spiritual blessings are at once represented by and conferred through some visible thing, according to a positive institution of God, to those who receive it with faith. The annexing of spiritual blessings to a visible symbol tends to fix the eye of faith upon the historical character of our religion, and upon the Man who has both shown forth the perfection of our nature and redeemed our fallen race from God, whose eternal Son he is. Thus

we are saved from the cloudy abstractions of a so-called absolute religion, much vaunted at present, which vainly attempts to raise us above historical Christianity to the contemplation of "Absolute Being." We have been baptized into one visible company, following the example and the precepts of Jesus himself. We eat and drink the Lord's Supper, as the Apostles did from the very hands of their Lord. If we cannot see and hear the ministry of him who once on earth reconciled in himself the divine and human natures, sundered by man's sin, we can restore the memory of them in these sacramental acts, to which the positive command of the Son himself has given a spiritual meaning and effect. But the effect is not magical, but moral; the sacraments *confer* the grace of God, they do not *contain* it; they are channels, not fountains. Nor are they the sole or the peculiar means of conveying to believers the effects of our Lord's Incarnation. He has already included in himself the whole human species; his redemption is the counterpart of Adam's perdition, and all are made alive in the one as they died in the other. The effects of the Incarnation are perceived whenever faith awakens to the need of it and to its reality. Man, who fell by an act of will, by the spi-

ritual part of him, cannot be restored without his will and by the material part of him. At the Fall, the hand of faith lost its hold upon God, and man began to trust in himself; what is it but the outstretching again of that hand of faith that constitutes his return to God? What but that act of the mind, which opens every channel through which his grace is appointed to flow? Our Church has taken care to discountenance the Romish view, which would degrade a sacrament into a charm or talisman, by clear statements; “the mean whereby the body of Christ is received and eaten in the supper is faith.” . . . “The wicked and such as be void of a lively faith, although they do carnally and visibly press with their teeth . . . the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, yet in nowise are they partakers of Christ; but rather to their condemnation do eat and drink the sign or sacrament of so great a thing” (114).

Only one topic remains. If Jesus has done such great things for us, his life is the principal scene of the world’s history, and all thoughts and feelings ought to be turned towards it, as all plants follow the light. What place, then, should the doctrine of the Atonement hold in preaching? On the one hand, many pious minds are afraid that the

constant iteration of the fact that Christ died to save the world may defeat its own aim, by producing weariness and inattention, or may lull the impenitent into the security of a false peace. On the other hand, where the cross of Christ is kept back, a dull and flat morality takes the place of the Gospel, or less vital questions, about the effect of sacraments, or the position of ministers, usurp an undue prominence. But if the whole life and person of the Redeemer are set forth, together with their necessary connexion with our life and actions, there is little danger either of tedious iteration or of self-deceit. To preach Christ and him crucified, to proclaim that he is made unto us wisdom and righteousness and sanctification and redemption, to show how this one great truth ramifies through all the paths of knowledge and duty, is the business of every Christian teacher; and if the line of the duty is clearly discernible, the consequences belong to God. There has ever been in the doctrine of Redemption an efficacy that has surprised even those who have administered it. Go forth, it might be said to one who had undertaken to win souls for Christ, and preach the whole truth without distrust. You may not see how the news that Jesus lived and suffered

is to enter into and vehemently move the souls you try to instruct : but for well-nigh two thousand years has the cross of Christ been lifted up, and has been drawing all men unto it. In every congregation, though the attrition of custom seems to have rounded all men into the same outward manner, almost like the twinned pebbles in the brook, there are many secret influences at work, and for each does the news of Christ provide some food or medicine. There is the yearning of affection, and the heartache of baffled hope, the irritation of sickness, the decay of manly strength, the fear of the end. Beware of ministering to these various ailments with an empiric's arbitrary hand ; dispense fairly what the great Physician of souls has intrusted to you. Ears long closed will be opened when you expect not ; trials befall men daily, under which the hardest discovers that he has a heart of flesh. And not far before us lies a point at which we must either rest on heavenly hopes or remain without hope. Think what it must be to die. Will a theory of the visible Church, of an Apostolic ministry, of the precise effects of sacraments, provide a man sufficiently against that great transition ? Death is not in most cases—not always even with the

good — a glad and speedy progress to a higher state of life, cheered by the consciousness of a good fight fought, with the lights of another world breaking into this, and glimpses of the angels round about the throne. No; it is often a state in which the mind is weak and prostrate, and full of fear and awe; and the embracing hands of affection must be unclasped, not without suffering; and all pursuits that made the mind's activity must be abandoned; and in the disturbed perspective of memory old sins and new shall struggle for the foremost rank; and the tide of life must slowly recede from limbs and senses, and the curtain of a strange gloom fall down. "He restoreth my soul: he leadeth me in the paths of righteousness for his name's sake. Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil: for thou art with me; thy rod and thy staff they comfort me^m." Into your hands, as his minister, has Christ intrusted the vials of his consolation. Go and pour them out for each. Tell them what shall make life at present real and true; assure them of something that shall stand them in good stead when the pageant is over and the lights go out. Bid them

^m Psalm xxiii. 3, 4.

know that their Redeemer liveth ; tell them that one who is the Resurrection and the Life compasses them about already with the cords of his sympathy, and will never forsake them. And you will wonder at the tenacious grasp with which those will embrace the cross who have no other hope ; you will see, that so long as we teach all things that he has commanded, he is with us always, even unto the end of the world.

NOTES.

*"Ὡςπερ γὰρ ἐν τῷ Ἀδὰμ πάντες ἀποθνήσκουσι, οὕτω καὶ ἐν τῷ
Χριστῷ πάντες ζωοποιηθήσονται. I COR. XV. 22.*

Αὐτὸς ἐνηνθρώπησεν, ἵνα ἡμεῖς θεοποιηθῶμεν. ST. ATHANASIUS.

NOTES.

LECTURE I.

Note 1. p. 1.

“THE Doctrine of Atonement Illustrated and Defended in Eight Sermons preached before the University of Oxford in the Year 1795 by Daniel Veysie, B.D. Fellow of Oriel College, and one of his Majesty’s Preachers at Whitehall.” This series of Bampton Lectures was directed principally against the “History of the Corruptions of Christianity,” by Priestley; and is much esteemed by many as a polemical work against the Socinians.

The word *Atonement* is derived from *at one*, though this is sometimes questioned. “He made them both *at one* with God, that there should be nothing to break the *atonement*.” Udal, Ephes. ii. And by Tyndale, “mediatour” is explained as “advocate, intercessor or an atonemaker.” Shakspeare, and Beaumont and Fletcher, use the verb active *to atone*. In Romans v. 11, Tyndale and Cranmer have *attonment*. The etymology may seem less suspicious on comparing the Latin *adunare*, *adunatus*, *adunatio*. Cyprian speaks of “*adunatus et verus Christi populus dominici gregis caritate connexus*.” Ep. 57. (al. 60.) I do not find that *adunare* is used in the sense of *reconciling*; but it seems to account for the formation of *to at-one*.

Note 2. p. 4.

Ταῖς κοιναῖς ἐννοαῖς ἀρχῆθεν συναγορεύοντα. Origen. cont. Cels. III. 40. (ἀρχῆθεν Gelenius renders *per omnia*: in C. Delarue’s edition it is *ad communem sensum ab initio nobis insitum*. The latter best suits the context.) But on

κοινὰ ἔννοιαι see a note in Sir W. Hamilton's Reid, p. 774. b. note. "The soul," says Origen, "which partakes of reason, recognising [in God] a nature related to itself, casts aside at once the things it hitherto regarded as gods, and conceives a natural love towards the Creator, and by this love cleaves to him, who first taught the nations these things." Ibid. Compare the quotations in Sir W. Hamilton's Reid, note A.

Note 3. p. 5.

Anselm's argument is, that if we can form a notion of a nature that has nothing higher than itself, we imply existence in that notion; for otherwise, a thing that existed only in thought would be inferior to one that existed in thought and in fact too, and so our conception of the highest nature would not exclude a higher, namely one that existed in fact as well as in thought. Et certe id, quo majus cogitari nequit, non potest esse in intellectu solo. Si enim vel in solo intellectu est; potest cogitari esse et in re: quod majus est. Si ergo id, quo majus cogitari non potest, est in solo intellectu; idipsum, quo majus cogitari non potest, est quo majus cogitari potest: sed certe hoc esse non potest. Existit ergo procul dubio aliquid, quo majus cogitari non valet, et in intellectu, et in re. Proslogium, Chap. II. See Chapters I—V. This argument is anticipated by Cleanthes (see Sextus Empiricus adv. Math. IX. 88—91.); the mind is led to conceive a *highest* thing in each class, and thus comes to an absolutely highest nature, i. e. God. Also by Plato, whose arguments for a deity turn mainly on the position that the mind out of an instinct of self-respect cannot help ascribing to reason the supremacy and absolute power. (Philebus, 28. C.) Also by Augustine (de Lib. Arbit. II. 3 foll.) And by Boethius (de Consol. Philos. III. 10.)

Note 4. p. 5.

Gaunilo, a monk, in a short book "Pro insipiente" shows how absurd it would be in other matters to argue from a conception of some perfect thing to its real existence. See Gerberon's Anselm, pp. 35, 36. Anselm rejoins (Contra

Insipientem, Chap. III.) by showing that his argument only applies to one nature, namely, *id quo majus cogitari non potest*. For other objections see below.

Note 5. p. 5.

Mendelssohn admits (*Morgenstunden* IX and XVII.) that, the sphere of thought being distinct from that of fact, it is absurd to argue from the conceivable to the actual, in any other case than that of the most perfect Being. In all the sciences this argument would be a glaring fallacy; but not here. His argument is summed up in the text.

Note 6. p. 6.

Descartes gave a new form to the ontological argument. We find an idea within us of a being infinite, eternal, immutable, independent, omniscient, omnipotent, by which we and all things which exist have been created and produced. (*Medita.* III. 26.) Now the formal cause of this idea cannot be found in ourselves, for we are finite, and are conscious of being far removed from such attributes of perfection; indeed the idea itself makes us feel our own inferiority. Nor do we obtain it as a mere negation of what is finite, for the idea of the infinite is more real than that of the finite, and ought to be conceived before it as its ground. Nor can we have compounded this idea from several actual existences, as with the centaur, the chimæra &c., because in all those cases we can recover, by a very simple analysis, the components of our notion, but not here; and because unity is implied in this idea. (*Réponse aux Obj. de Caterus.* 6. *Medita.* III. 40.) We conclude then that the cause of this idea is a being who has in himself all the perfections that we conceive in our thoughts. Again we can deduce the idea of God's existence from his very nature; for the conception of the divine nature not only implies, like all others, a possible existence, but a necessary one. All that we clearly perceive to be implied in the idea of a thing, is true of the thing itself. Now we conceive clearly and distinctly that the existence of God is implied in our idea of him, and therefore he exists. (Me-

dita. V. 6. Réponse aux Obj. de Caterus 6. Medit. dispos. géométriquement, prop. 1.) See Renouvier Manuel de Phil. Moderne, p. 69. Also Spinoza Princ. Phil. Cart. I. Props. 5, 6, 7. Leibniz Ep. ad Bierlingium. With Descartes the two arguments *cogito, ergo sum* and *est notio Dei, est ergo Deus* are so connected that our existence is made the ground of the divine. (Medit. III. 34, 35, 39.) But it has been contended (*ex gr.* by Marheineke Dogm. II. 76) that the process ought rather to be reversed. The assurance of an absolute existence is required as the ground of the belief in relative and derivative existences. The form given to this proof by Ammon (Sum. Theol. Christ. p. 110) is worthy of citation: "Quum idea infiniti, qua Deum concipimus, intellectui canonem præbeat in judicandis veris et falsis; falsum autem ex mero phantasmate judicari et corrigi non queat; colligitur etiam merito, notioni absoluti, quæ mentem humanam occupat, et per vim conscientiæ et officii inopiam arguit, respondere veritatem æternam in intellectu numinis archetypo." In the text I have given the form of this proof which may best meet the objections brought against it. The existence of God is assumed as a primary fact; the ontological argument explains at least the nature of the assumption. Here belongs another proof, to which no place has been given in the text, the *historical* proof (*argumentum a consensu gentium*) which establishes the universality of this assumption from the examination of all times and nations. "Ut porro firmissimum," says Cicero, "hoc afferri videtur, cur deos esse credamus, quod nulla gens tam fera, nemo omnium tam sit immanis, ejus mentem non imbuerit deorum opinio: multi de diis prava sentiunt: (id enim vitioso more effici solet:) omnes tamen esse vim et naturam divinam arbitrantur; nec vero id collocutio hominum, aut consensus effecit: non institutis opinio est confirmata, non legibus. Omni autem in re consensus omnium gentium lex naturæ putanda est." Tusc. Disput. I. 13. And why do we assume that God exists? because we not only *think of*, but love and tend towards, him. Our thought impels towards an object, which it of course presupposes to exist. "Qui se suosque affectus

clare et distincte intelligit," says Spinoza, "Deum amat, et eo magis, quo se suosque affectus magis intelligit. . . . Hic erga Deum amor intellectualis mentem maxime occupare debet. . . . Mentis amor intellectualis erga Deum est ipse Dei amor, quo Deus se ipsum amat, non quatenus infinitus est, sed quatenus per essentiam humanæ mentis, sub specie æternitatis consideratam explicari potest, h. e. mentis erga Deum amor intellectualis pars est infiniti amoris, quo Deus se ipsum amat. Hinc sequitur, quod Deus, quatenus se ipsum amat, homines amat, et consequenter quod amor Dei erga homines, et mentis erga Deum amor intellectualis, unum et idem est." (Ethic. V. Prop. 15, 16, 36. vol. i. p. 399. fol. Bruder's Ed.) This would need qualifying, as in its present form it is pantheistic; but that we are related to God, and are still in some degree conformed to his image, is the reason we know him to exist, and turn towards him.

Note 7. p. 9.

The cosmological proof of the divine existence, as drawn out in the text, relies on the principle of sufficient reason (*ratio sufficiens*, see Thomson's *Laws of Thought*, p. 280. 3d ed.) Carneades employed it, according to Cicero (*de Nat. De. III. 13.*) Aristotle uses it; whatever moves, receives its motion from another; but we cannot go on to infinity in the search after sources of motion, therefore we must stop at last in something which is immovable and eternal. (*Phys. Ausc. VIII.*) I have followed Leibniz: "Quia præsens status deducendus est ex statu adhuc anteriore, et hic rursus ex anteriore, qui et ipse alio adhuc anteriore indiget: ideo, et si in infinitum procederes, nunquam rationem invenires, quæ non rursus ratione reddenda indigeret. Unde sequitur, rationem rerum plenam in particularibus reperiri non posse, sed quærendum esse in causa generali, ex qua non minus status præsens quam præcedens immediate emanat, nempe in auctore universi intelligente." "This proof" says Knapp in his *Vorlesungen* "when stated in connexion with others, and especially with the moral proof, is well calculated to produce conviction even in the common mind. The Bible frequently contrasts the eternity

and immutability of God with the perishable nature of the material world. Psalm xc; cii. 26—28; Heb. i. 10 fol.”

Note 8. p. 10.

The proof of God's existence from the order and beauty of the universe, called the physico-theological proof, “deserves at all times to be mentioned with respect. It is the oldest, the clearest, and the most adapted to ordinary human reason. It animates the study of nature, just as it has its own existence from this, and thereby ever receives fresh force.” Kant, *Kritik*, p. 651. Among ancient writers this was the favourite argument. In Holy Scripture see Psalms viii; xix; civ; Isai. xl. 21—26; Job xxxvii; xli; Mat. vi. 25 . . . ; Acts xiv. 15 . . . ; xvii. 24 . . . ; Rom. i. 19. Those who have treated the general argument most popularly are Fenelon and Paley, who followed closely Van Nieuwentyt. Writers on special parts of creation are too numerous to mention.

Note 9. p. 11.

Kant thus states the moral argument: “The highest good of man consists of two parts, the greatest possible morality and happiness. The former is the demand of his spiritual, the latter of his animal nature. The former only, his morality, is within his own power; and while, by persevering virtue, he makes this his personal character, he is often compelled to sacrifice his happiness. But since the desire of happiness is neither irrational nor unnatural, he justly concludes, either that there is a supreme being who will so guide the course of things (the natural world, not of itself subject to moral laws) as to render his holiness and happiness equal, or that the dictates of his conscience are unjust and irrational. But the latter supposition is morally impossible; and he is compelled, therefore, to receive the former as true.” *Kritik*, p. 620. . . . This form was given to the argument by Raimund de Säbunde. *Theol. Natur. Tit.* 83. In its more usual form, the proof runs—When injustice or oppression or undeserved misfortune appears in the world, the mind by a natural instinct flees to a just judge, who can punish the wrong-doer and lift up

the suffering; and for this it must believe in God. See also Lecture V. p. 120.

The so-called practical arguments for the belief in God, are scarcely worthy of a place in the present discussion. They are, i. that as the mind abhors annihilation, it is driven to believe, and should believe, upon one who is able to give eternal life. ii. That human weakness is so great that without the belief in God, temperance, moderation, honesty would be difficult or impossible; we should therefore cleave to a belief so *useful*. iii. The belief in God is *safe* even if he does not exist; disbelief in him, if he does exist, is fatal: we ought then to adhere to a belief in God for the sake of safety. But a belief founded on the first or second of these arguments alone would be rather a selfish tendency to our own good than a religious reliance upon and reverence for the most High. The third (which Bp. Butler employs in his *Analogy* [Introduction] as a useful *caution* to arrest a sceptical mind on the threshold of enquiry) would easily tend to self-deceit if employed as the ground of religious belief, for how can the admission of a proposition, as less dangerous than its contradictory, amount to real belief in God? Compare Daub, *Theologumena*, p. 163.

Note 10. p. 13.

The proofs for the existence of God, first naturalized in philosophy by the Wolfian school, have been subjected to a searching criticism by Kant and later writers. And it must be admitted, against the ontological proof, that it is formally illogical to argue from an idea of possible existence to an assertion of actual. The attempt to include existence as one of the predicates in our analytic view of the divine nature, because (see p. 5) existence is one element of perfection, and it would be a contradiction to represent the perfect God apart from it, is thus handled by Kant: "If I do away with the predicate in an identical judgment, and I retain the subject, a contradiction thus arises, and consequently I say that the predicate belongs to the subject necessarily. But if I annul the predicate together with the subject, then there arises no contradic-

tion, for there is no more any thing which could be contradicted. To suppose a triangle, and yet to do away with the three angles of the same, is contradictory; but to do away with the triangle, together with its three angles, is no contradiction. It is just the same with the conception of an absolutely necessary being. If you do away with the existence of this, you thus do away with the thing itself, together with all its predicates: whence then is the contradiction to be deduced? Externally there is nothing which would contradict, for the thing is not to be externally necessary—and not internally, for you have by the suppression of the thing itself, done away with, at the same time, every thing internal. God is omnipotent—this is a necessary judgment. The omnipotence cannot be done away with, if you suppose a Divinity, that is an infinite Being, with the conception of which the first is identical. But when you say *God is not*, neither the omnipotency, nor any other of his predicates is then given, because they are all annihilated together with the subject, and in this thought there is not manifested the least contradiction.”

Kritik. (p. 454 Eng. Trans.) The cosmological argument depends upon the assumption that the law of causality is universally applicable, and that an *infinite* chain of causes is inconceivable. The admission or rejection of the former will depend upon the theory of causation we adopt: Hume would reject it because experience, observation and analogy give rise to the idea of cause and effect, and we must not apply the idea in a region where these cannot have place. (Essays, vol. II. On Necessary Connexion.) Kant would join in a protest against transferring causality from the world of sense to a higher world. (Kritik, p. 637. Compare the conspectus of different views of Causation from the master hand of Sir William Hamilton in Discussions, &c., p. 585. Thomson’s Laws of Thought, p. 255 note. 3d ed.) It is true that the supposition of an infinite series of causes gives no sufficient, because no original, cause for what we see; but so far as the idea of cause belongs to the universe and the finite, it would go to prove the existence of a necessary being, not however a supernatural being, but an

eternal ground of existence in the world itself. (Strauss Dogmatik. I. 382.) Compare, on this argument, Leibniz (Nouveaux Essais. IV. ch. 10.) upon Locke (Hum. Under. IV. 10. ii.) Against the physico-theological proof Kant objects that it can never *alone* prove the existence of the Supreme Being. Strictly, the order and beauty of the universe incline to the belief in a being capable of producing them; but whether *infinite* power, wisdom and goodness, or only *great* power, wisdom and goodness, whether an infinite or a finite being, this cannot inform us, and must rely upon the ontological proof for aid. Against the *moral* proof, (see note 9,) in the form adopted by Kant, it is denied that there is any contrariety between morality and happiness; the highest happiness being that which arises from a felt harmony between our actions and the moral end we ought to seek. (Strauss, Dogmatik, I. 393. from Hegel Phänomenologie, p. 465.) “The last and only ground of our religious belief in God is our own religion or love of God, in which the belief in One beloved above all is necessarily contained. Therefore the being of God is just as certain to a man, as his own religion is.” (Hase, Dogmatik, p. 115. 1850.) In the text the mode of operation of these arguments, when used conjointly, and as analysing and illustrating the idea of God, the existence of whom is already postulated, is described.

Note 11. p. 13.

This objection is by Süskind; see Storr and Flatt Theol. b. II. p. i.

Note 12. p. 15.

Δύο γὰρ σαφῶς ἔχω ψυχάς . . . οὐ γὰρ δὴ μία γε οὔσα ἅμα ἀγαθὴ τέ ἐστι καὶ κακὴ, οὐδ' ἅμα καλῶν τε καὶ αἰσχροῶν ἔργων ἐρᾷ, καὶ ταῦτ' ἅμα βούλεται τε καὶ οὐ βούλεται πράττειν· ἀλλὰ δῆλον ὅτι δύο ἐστὸν ψυχά, καὶ ὅταν μὲν ἡ ἀγαθὴ κρατῇ, τὰ καλὰ πράττεται, ὅταν δὲ ἡ πονηρὰ, τὰ αἰσχροὰ ἐπιχειρεῖται. Xenophon. Cyrop. VI. i. § 41. Crates, according to Diogenes Laertius (VI. v. § 89.) used to say that it was impossible to find a man who had not fallen, just as every pomegranate had a bad grain in it. Plato uses the beautiful image of a good and bad horse yoked to the same chariot and driven

by the same charioteer, to illustrate the condition of the soul. (Phædrus. 253.) He attributes, in the Meno, a natural depravity to children, otherwise it would be enough to confine them in order to keep them good. His "Republic" is founded on the conception that in man and in a state, elements of disorder, which is the same as sin, exist, and these are ever struggling to subdue the ruling principle, the reason. So the well-known passage in Ovid (Met. vii. 18) :

Si possem, sanior essem,
Sed trahit invitum nova vis ; aliudque cupido,
Mens aliud suadet. Video meliora proboque
Deteriora sequor.

Note 13. p. 17.

Sin as the privation of good.] Οὐκοῦν ὁ ἀγαθὸς τῷ ὄντι ὁ αὐτός ἐστιν. Ἐναντίον δὲ τῷ ἀγαθῷ τὸ κακὸν ἢ τὸ πονηρὸν, καὶ ἐναντίον τῷ ὄντι τὸ οὐκ ὄν. Οἷς ἀκολουθεῖ ὅτι τὸ πονηρὸν καὶ κακὸν οὐκ ὄν. . . . Οἱ δὲ ἀποστραφέντες τὴν τοῦ ὄντος μετοχὴν τῷ ἐστερηῆσθαι τοῦ ὄντος γεγόνασιν οὐκ ὄντες. Origen, in S. Joh. ii. 7. According to Athanasius, all thought and being consists in the knowledge of God. "What profit could there be to the created, as long as they did not know the Creator? or how could they be reasonable creatures, so long as they knew not the Father of reason?" (de Incarn. Verbi, 11.) Thus departure from God is a return to a state of non-entity. God can only be the cause of what is good, and so evil is represented as the privation of God. (C. Gent. 6.) Οὐτε οὐσία τις ἔστι [τοῦ κακοῦ]. ἀλλὰ ἄνθρωποι κατὰ στέρησιν τῆς τοῦ καλοῦ φαντασίας ἐαυτοῖς ἐπινοοῦν ἤρξαντο καὶ ἀναπλάττειν τὰ οὐκ ὄντα. (Ibid. c. 7.) Gregory of Nyssa uses the same conception: Φύσις δὲ κακίας οὐκ ἔστι. (Cat. c. 28.) Καθάπερ γὰρ ἡ ὄρασις φύσεώς ἐστιν ἐνεργεία, ἡ δὲ πῆρωσις, στέρησις ἐστι τῆς φυσικῆς ἐνεργείας, οὕτως καὶ ἡ ἀρετὴ πρὸς τὴν κακίαν ἀνθέστηκεν· οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἄλλην κακίας γένεσιν ἐννοῆσαι, ἢ ἀρετῆς ἀπουσίαν. . . . Ἄλλ' ἐμφύεται πῶς τὸ κακὸν εἶδοθαι τῇ προαιρέσει τότε συνιστάμενον, ὅταν τις ἀπὸ τοῦ καλοῦ γένηται τῆς ψυχῆς ἀραχώρησις. (Cat. c. 5.) Augustine in the same view says, Mala vero voluntas

prima defectus potius fuit quidam ab opere Dei ad sua opera quam opus ullum. (de Civ. Dei, xiv. 11.) Nemo igitur quærat efficientem causam malæ voluntatis, non enim est efficiens, sed deficiens; quia nec illa effectio est, sed defectio. (Ibid. xii. 7.) Elsewhere he describes evil as amissio boni—privatio boni—corruptio naturæ—inopia. But, as will be seen, he could not rest satisfied with the bare negative conception of sin. With Boëthius the mode of proof is—God is omnipotent, and nothing can be impossible to him. But evil is impossible to him, therefore it can have no true existence. (de Consol. Phil. III. 12.) These representations reappear continually. Thus Anselm: In bonis quidem facit [Deus] quod sunt et quod bona sunt: in malis quidem facit quod sunt, sed non quod mala sunt. Nam omni rei esse justam vel bonam est *aliquid* esse; nulli vero rei est esse *aliquid*, injustam vel malam esse.... Justitia namque aliquid est, injustitia nihil. Qu. i. c. 7. Peccatum originale est justitiæ debitæ nuditas. (de Con. Virg. 27.) Also T. Aquinas, Summa. II. 1. 85. 3. Ibid. I. Qu. 82. 3. Duns Scotus in Lib. Sent. II. 30. Bonaventura in Lib. Sent. XXX. 2. 1. See for other citations Petavius Theol. Dogm. I. vi. 4. Ritter Geschichte Christ. Phil. vols. i—iii. The passage of Plotinus referred to is Ennead. I. viii. 11. An exclusive adherence to the negative conception of evil would obliterate man's responsibility; in respect of God, evil is truly nothing more than a want or privation, but in respect of man it takes a share in guiding his life. In holy Scripture, it is true, sin is often held up as a privation of, or absence from, God. "The light shineth in darkness; and the darkness comprehended it not." (John i. 5.) "The natural man ($\psi\upsilon\chi\iota\kappa\acute{o}s$) receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God; for they are foolishness unto him." (1 Cor. ii. 14.) "Ye were sometimes darkness, but now are ye light in the Lord; walk as children of light." (Eph. v. 8.) But the revelation of God is for practice, rather than theory; and that which appears to philosophy as a negation of being, is denounced in religion as a substantive principle in man himself, having tangible consequences for those who obey it. And the view of sin

as a mere negation lends to pantheistic views of the universe, or to Pelagianism in morals, according to the use made of it.

Note 14. p. 19.

Sin as selfishness.] Πάντων δὲ μέγιστον κακῶν ἀνθρώποις τοῖς πολλοῖς ἔμφυτον ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐστίν, οὐ πᾶς ἑαυτῷ συγγνώμην ἔχων ἀποφυγὴν οὐδεμίαν μηχανᾶται· τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ὃ λέγουσιν ὡς φίλος αὐτῷ πᾶς ἄνθρωπος φύσει τ' ἐστὶ καὶ ὀρθῶς ἔχει τὸ δεῖν εἶναι τοιοῦτον. τὸ δὲ ἀληθείᾳ γε πάντων ἁμαρτημάτων διὰ τὴν σφόδρα ἑαυτοῦ φιλίαν αἴτιον ἐκάστῳ γίγνεται ἐκάστοτε. τυφλοῦται γὰρ περὶ τὸ φιλούμενον ὃ φιλῶν, ὥστε τὰ δίκαια καὶ τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ τὰ καλὰ κακῶς κρίνει, τὸ αὐτοῦ πρὸ τοῦ ἀληθοῦς ἀεὶ τιμᾶν δεῖν ἡγούμενος. Plato Laws 731 E. Mala vero voluntas prima, quoniam omnia mala opera præcessit in homine, defectus potius fuit quidam ab opere Dei ad sua opera quam opus ullum, &c. Augustin. de Civ. Dei, XIV. 11. (Here the views of sin, as a negation, and as selfishness, are combined.) In holy Scripture (see above p. 218) the identity of sin and self-seeking is strongly marked. The prevailing national sin of the Jews was pure self-will. The character of Jacob, who even whilst trusting in the power of God to carry out his gracious promises, spent his life in little plans of his own to further the designs of providence; the waywardness of the children of Israel in the wilderness; their wilful determination to have a king of their own; the fate of Saul, who fell, not by forsaking or defying God, but for mixing up his own will and designs with those he was chosen to carry out; these are but a few examples of what the Old Testament exhibits in every part. The words of Samuel were applicable to the wayward children of Israel at all times. "Hath the Lord as great delight in burnt offerings and sacrifices as in obeying the voice of the Lord? Behold, to obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams. For rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft, and stubbornness is as iniquity and idolatry. Because thou hast rejected the word of the Lord, he hath also rejected thee from being king." 1 Sam. xv. 22, 23. "As Christ, when he bears witness to his own perfect holiness, makes it to consist in his not seeking his own will

and his own honour, but the will and honour of the Father, (John v. 30. vii. 18. viii. 50 with Mat. xx. 28. xxvi. 39,) so is he exhibited by the apostle Paul as our example, in that he did not live to "please himself," but entirely for God. Rom. xv. 3. And in agreement with this, the great turning point between the old life under sin as the dominant principle, and the new life, wrought by the Holy Spirit, is exhibited in several places both by the Lord and the apostle Paul as one in which the man ceases to live for himself, and to seek his own, to love the worldly life of self; (Rom. xiv. 7, 8; Gal. ii. 20; 2 Cor. v. 15; Phil. ii. 3—8, 21; 1 Cor. x. 24, 33; Luke xiv. 26; John xii. 25;) in a word, the power of selfishness in him is broken. But that which must first of all be broken, if the true sanctification of a man is to begin, can be nothing else than the peculiar principle of sin. And so Paul in drawing the character of the abandoned race of the last times, (2 Tim. iii. 2—5,) places selfishness at the head of the long roll of sins and vices. And thus in the profound parable of the lost son, the son's fall begins with the significant trait, that he first wishes to have his own portion separated from his father's property, and then severs himself entirely from his father and his home (Luke xv. 12, 13); and it is indicated afterwards as the right form of relation to a father, always to be in intercourse with the father, and to regard his goods as one's own (v. 31). The history of the Fall of Man agrees completely with this." The writer now quoted goes on to show from 2 Thes. ii. 3, 4. 8. how selfishness is to characterise the complete development of evil. Julius Müller, *Lehre von der Sünde*, i. p. 187, 3d ed. Breslau 1849. (It would be unfair not to caution the student against a discreditable translation of this important work, lately published; it is utterly useless.) Such being the scriptural representations, it is not wonderful that later writers adopt them largely. In the celebrated little book called *Teutsche Theologie*, highly commended by Luther, we find (ch. 2.) "What else did the devil, or what was his rebellion or fall, if it was not that he thought himself to be something, and presumed to be something, and pretended that something belonged to him. This presuming to be

something, this 'I' and 'me' and 'mine' and 'for me' were and are his rebellion and fall." The works of Tauler and other mystical writers speak similar language.

Note 15. p. 20.

When sin is represented as pride, as by Augustine, pride is explained as being the love of one's own excellence or pre-eminence, as the desire to rule and not to have even God to rule over us; so that it is closely allied to selfishness. In the following passage the alliance appears. "*Merito initium omnis peccati superbium Scriptura definivit, dicens: Initium omnis peccati superbia* (Eccl. x. 15.) Cui testimonio non inconvenienter aptatur etiam illud quod Apostolus ait, *Radix omnium malorum est avaritia* (1 Tim. vi. 10); Si avaritiam generalem intelligamus, qua quisque appetit aliquid amplius quam oportet, propter excellentiam suam, et quemdam propriæ rei amorem." Augustine (de Gen. ad lit. xi. 15.)

Sin is sometimes explained as impatience of the restraints of the divine law (*impatientia*); but this is only the other side of the definition that it is the wish to make self the law and be a law to oneself.

Concupiscence again is made the root of sin; and it is explained in the *Apologia Confessionis Augustanæ* (I. ii. 27) as "quæ carnalia quærit contra verbum Dei, hoc est, quærit non solum voluptates corporis, sed etiam sapientiam et justitiam carnalem, et confidit his bonis, contemnens Deum." But this would agree with the definition of selfishness.

That *unbelief* is the root of sin may be also asserted, inasmuch as, before the soul can reject the law of God and rely on its own law and impulses, it must cease to have an active belief in the former. This follows from the terms in which the divine law speaks; it makes the wages of sin to be death and the end of obedience to be life everlasting: if the threat and the promise are believed they will be acted upon. At the fall the tempter weakened the hold upon the divine command by "Ye shall not surely die" before the woman "saw that the tree was good for food, and that it was pleasant to the eyes, and a tree to be

desired to make one wise," and obeyed the temptation. Thus with all sound theologians as faith and righteousness are associated, so are unbelief and sin.

Note 16. p. 21.

Sin as disobedience.] Ἡ ἀμαρτία ἐστὶν ἡ ἀνομία. 1 John iii. 4. This is not to be regarded as a definition of sin ; it is a caution ; "you cannot commit sins without transgressing the divine law ; for sin is a breach of the law of God." Nearly all the words, in Hebrew Greek and Latin, which denote sin, imply a deviation from a line or aim. See Knapp. *Vorlesungen*, § 73. (Eng. Trans. p. 232) for a list of Hebrew and Greek. In Latin "*peccare est tanquam transilire lineas*" (Cicero) ; *delictum* means the act of one who fails to come up to his duty ; in *impietas*, *nefas*, *flagitium*, *scelus*, other notions predominate. Augustine uses *transgressio*, a going beyond a limit ; also *inobedientia*. In all these words, when the notion of a Being able and entitled to impose the law or draw the line or mark the limit, comes in, the thought of disobedience towards him appears. Hence in the Old and New Testament, the revelation of God, sin is always represented as disobedience.

Note 17. p. 22.

In distinguishing between atonement and reconciliation I do not forget that the derivation of the former word almost identifies it with the latter (see p. 235.) But atonement has come to imply more than the mere setting us *at one* with God ; it includes the removal of guilt and consequently of punishment. On a similar distinction between the German *Erlösung* and *Versöhnung*, see Baur *Lehre v. d. Versöhnung*, p. 5.

Note 18. p. 28.

A parallel between the individual, with his reason, anger and appetites, and the state, with its rulers, army and populace, is the groundwork of Plato's political philosophy. Injustice in the man, and disorder in the state, consist in the usurpation of the highest authority by some lower part. See Republic.

N O T E S.

LECTURE II.

Note 19. p. 31.

“DAS Opfer ist also ursprünglich eine Gabe an die Gottheit, und zwar eine solche, wodurch der Mensch die immer noch unvollständige Hingebung seiner selbst an Gott zu vervollständigen strebt.” Tholuck. Hebräer. Beilage II. p. 71. Enlarged into a theory in a learned Essay by Professor Ernst Von Lasaulx, of Munich, called Das Sühnopfer d. Griechen u. Römer u. s. w. Wurzburg, 1841.

Note 20. p. 31.

In the essay of Tholuck (quoted in the last note) p. 77, foll. is a classification of the various theories of sacrifice. See also the remarkable work of Bähr: Symbolik des Mosaischen Cultus. (II. 269 foll.) to which I am much indebted in this Lecture, and in the following.

Note 21. p. 32.

See page 46. Note 33.

Note 22. p. 33.

See Bähr II. 294. Besides these definitions, every theory of sacrifice implies one. See reff. in Note 20. “Language, from which in many cases the original idea may be deduced, offers no solution of the problem. The Greek word, ῥέζω, in the Boeotian dialect ῥέδδω^a, by transposition and change of δ and ζ, ἐρδω, is and means nothing more than ἐργω^b,

^a Eustathius to II. XIV. 261.

^b Eustathius to II. II. 305, and IV. 29.

work. In the same way *δρᾶν*^c, as well as the Latin terms for sacrifice, *facere*^d and *operari*^e, has only the general signification of *act, do*; since sacrifice was especially considered as an effective act, and to kill a living animal was looked upon as an important deed^f. The word *σφάζω*, *σφάγω*, is connected with *φάγω*, and signifies *separate into parts, cleave, slaughter*^g. In Homer, the word *θύω* is still only used for the burning of vegetable oblations^h; it is the same word with the Latin *fio*, which is retained in *suffio*, and means *kindle, fumigate*. The words *σπένδω* and *λείβω*, used for drink-offerings, etymologically signify, as does *libare*, nothing more than *pour out*ⁱ. The German word *opfern*, is manifestly formed from the Latin *offerre*, and designates every offering^k. But all these conceptions are so external and material, that the religious and fundamental idea of sacrifice can hardly be recognised in them.” Ernst von Lasaulx. [Unable to procure the original I quote an American translation.]

Note 23. p. 33.

“This idea will be found to pervade all the ancient religions. And especially was the *voluntary* sacrifice of the innocent thought to be effectual and pleasing to the gods, in proportion to the purity of will of him who thus offered himself for others. “A pure soul, when voluntarily offered

^c Athenæus XIV. 79. Eustathius to Od. X. 349. Hesychius vv. *δρᾶν* and *δράσεις* Tom. I. 1030, 1031. Alberti.

^d Cato de re rust. 134. 139. porco piaculo facito. Columella II. 22. 4. Catulo facere. Virgil. Ecl. III. 77. facere vitula pro frugibus. Tibul. IV. 6, 14. ter tibi fit libo, ter, dea casta, mero. Cicero pro Mur. 41, 90. Junoni . . . omnes consules facere necesse est.

^e Operari, the same as, operam dare rei divinæ, Nonius Marcellus XII. 21. Virg. G. I. 339. Propertius III. 29, 2. Tac. Ann. II. 14.—*Operari sacris*, Liv. I. 31, 8. *Operari deo* Tibul. II. 1, 9. 5, 95. *Operari Libero Patri* Curtius VIII. 10, 17.

^f ὥς τι μέγα δρῶντες τὸ θύειν ἔμψυχον Plutarch. Mor. p. 729. F. Sylb.

^g Eustathius to Il. I. 459 and to Od. XII. 385. Comp. Ammonius de Diff. p. 71.

^h Athenæus XIV. 79. Scholia antiqua ad Od. XIV. 446.

ⁱ Isidor. Orig. V. 19, 32.

^k J. Grimm's—Deutsche Mythologie, p. 22.

up, is surely in a condition to make satisfaction for thousands^l;" are the words, we find in Sophocles, addressed to *Œdipus*, the sufferer, when about to be glorified. And in the *Sohar* we read, "the death of the just expiates the sins of the world^m." In Grecian Mythology, I find no earlier example of such a voluntary, expiatory death, than that of *Chiron* in the story of *Prometheus*. As a punishment for stealing the fire from heaven, *Prometheus* was chained to the Caucasian mountains by order of *Zeus*, where an eagle was ever to devour his ever growing liver. Through many generations of men he endured these torments, until at last *Hercules*, in his wanderings through Asia, killed the bird of prey; and *Chiron*, the Centaur, who ruled over the mountainous regions, voluntarily offered himself to death instead of *Prometheus*ⁿ. In history we find similar instances. When once the plague was spreading through all Aonia, the Gortynian *Apollo* proclaimed, that the pestilence would be stayed, when the infernal gods, *Hades* and *Persephone*, should be appeased by two virgins, offering themselves up, of their own free will, as an expiatory sacrifice. The daughters of *Orion*, *Metioche* and *Menippe*, consecrated themselves to death for their fellow-citizens, and the pest ceased. To these virgins, the Aonians erected a splendid temple, in the Boeotian *Orchomenus*, and thither boys and maidens brought to them thank-offerings every year^o. In Attica, the daughters of *Erectheus*, the *Hyacinthians*, and the daughters of *Leos*, voluntarily suffered a sacrificial death for their father-land; and in later times, the grateful Athenians brought to them public libations^p. Known to all is the voluntary death of *Codrus* for his people. The prophet *Tiresias* in Thebes,

^l *Soph. Œdipus. C. 498 seq.*

^m *Sohar to Levit. p. 100: mors justorum est expiatio sæculi. Comp. Gfrörers's Philo II. 196.*

ⁿ *Apollod. II. 5, 4, 11.*

^o *Antoninus Liberalis c. 25.*

^p *Demosthenes Epitaph. 27, 29, p. 587. seq. Bek. Apollod. III. 15, 4. Diod. XVII. 15. Aelian. V. II. XII. 28. Cicero Tusc. I. 48 and N. D. III. 19 seq.*

proclaimed victory to the Cadmeans, in case the son of the king should give himself to be slain for a sacrifice. When Menoeceus heard this, he offered himself up to death before the gates of the city^q. This mode of voluntary sacrifice (*θῦσαι*) was carefully distinguished from suicide, and from the killing of another (*φονεῖν*); and only the first was deemed piacular^r. In the first Messenian war, a Delphic oracular declaration announced to the hard-pressed Messenians, that they would obtain redemption from their miseries, if an immaculate virgin, of royal dignity, of the blood of Aepytus, and chosen by lot, were sacrificed to the infernal deities; and should she in any way escape the sacrifice, then they must take some other, who might voluntarily (*ἐκουσίως*) consecrate herself to this object. Aristodemus offered his own daughter; and when her suitor protested against it, (falsely denying her virginity,) in his rage her father slew her with his own hand. And now, some other must give up a daughter, since Aristodemus had not offered his to the gods, but had murdered her. Yet the other Aepytidae succeeded in making it appear, that the death of one maiden should suffice^s. When the priest Epimenides of Crete was called upon by the Athenians, about the forty-sixth Olympiad, 596 years before Christ, to perform a sacred lustration for their city, on account of the guilt they had incurred by the death of Cylon, (who was persuaded to leave the sanctuary of Minerva, under a promise that his life should not be forfeited, but was afterwards killed), he declared that the blood of a man was needed for this; the Athenian youth Cratinus offered himself as a voluntary sacrifice; and thus was the expiation completed^t. One other remarkable fact deserves to be adduced. The priestess Comaetho with her paramour Melanippus once desecrated the temple of Artemis Triclaria in Achaia. The wrathful goddess brought

^q Apollod. III. 6, 7, Eurip. Phœn. 913 seq. Statii Theb. X. 6 10 seq. Juv. XIV. 240.

^r Paus. IV, 9. 5.

^s Paus. IV. 9.

^t Herodotus V. 71. Thucydides I. 126. Ulrici's Gesch. der Hellen. Poesie I. 458 seq. II. 235 seq.

sterility and infection upon the whole land, and the Delphian oracle declared, that they should not only sacrifice to Artemis both the guilty ones, but every year bring to her the sacrifice of a beautiful virgin and youth, until upon a time a foreign king should come into the land, and teach them the worship of another God^u." Ernst von Lasaulx. Among the Romans the example of Publius Decius is remarkable. See Livy, viii. 9, and Arnold's Rome, II. 149.

Note 24. p. 36.

On the self-devotion of Buddha, I have quoted Professor Max Müller's Prolegomena to the Vedas, (still unpublished) p. 70. On the position of the Priest, as mediating between the gods and men, Baur (Symbolik, III. 302, and the reff. there given); also Bähr (II. 22 foll.) The people with an instinct of devotion, would turn to those who could offer them the knowledge of God, and as an insight into the powers of nature was by them identified with it, the priests were the depositaries of all science. The reverence paid to priestly functions, and the respect for a king, are so far akin that we do not wonder to find the two offices united frequently in one person, (as in early Greece, Heeren, Ideen, p. 97.) Rex Anius, rex idem hominum Phœbique sacerdos, says Virgil, and Servius thereon remarks "Sane majorum hæc erat consuetudo, ut rex etiam esset sacerdos vel pontifex, unde hodieque Imperatores pontifices dicimus." That the king in the heroic times exercised the functions of general, judge, *and* priest, see Aristotle Polit. III. 14, also Stobæus, Serm. 46. On the priest representing the divinity, in the Eleusinian mysteries, see Kreuzer Symbolik, III. 447, and in Arcadia in the worship of Demeter, Pausan. VIII. 15, and among the Aztecs, in the worship of the god Tezeatl-poea, Prescott's Mexico I. p. 62. (1850), referred to again below. Besides these references see an eloquent sketch of heathen religions in their development, though not to be trusted as historical, in Görres, Mythengeschichte, I. pp. 16—31. Also Kreuzer Symbolik. Introd.

^u Paus. VII. 19.

Note 25. p. 38.

Cyril of Alexandria (Dial. I. de Trin.) mentions that the Arians considered Christ as the mediator (*μεσίτης*) as holding an *intermediate* position between God and his creatures. See also Petavius (de Incarn. Lib. XII. Cap. 1.)

Note 26. p. 38.

“ There grew up even in Athens the horrible custom, of nourishing every year, at cost of the State, two poor forsaken persons, male and female ; and then at the festival of Thargelia, of putting them to death for the expiation of the people, as though they had assumed their sins. Hung about with figs, and scourged with rods of the fig-tree^x, these *φαρμακοί*, to the sound of an ancient melody, called *κραδίας*, were led in solemn procession out of the city to their sacrificial death, and then either hurled down from the rocks^y; or burned, and their ashes cast into the sea^z. The same expiatory custom existed in the Phocæan colony, Massilia. As often as the plague prevailed, they were wont to lead through the city a poor creature, adorned with wreaths and festive garments, who a year long had been fed at the public expense, to imprecate upon his head all the calamities of the people, and afterwards to cast him down from the rocks^a. Upon the island Leucas, a man was thrown every year into the sea, for the absolution of the people^b. In like manner, at Rhodes upon the sixth of the month Metageitnion, a man was sacrificed to Chronos. This custom was afterwards so changed, that any one con-

^x The fig-tree is famed for its sweetness. By figs, it would then seem, is here to be implied, that the sacrifice was sweet. On this account the fig was an *ἐπιβώμιον* of all sacrifices. It was also reputed to be an antidote against every poison. Julian. Epist. 24. p. 391 seq.

^y Aristoph. Ran. 733 and Eq. 1133, with the Scholia. Helladius in Photius Cod. CCLXXIX. p. 534. col. A. Bek. and Photii Lex. p. 533. Harpocration p. 179. Ammonius de Diff. p. 136. Suidas t. III. 581. Hesychius v. *κραδίας νόμος* p. 337. and v. *φαρμακοί* p. 1494.

^z Tzetzes Chil. v. 23, 735. Oracula Sibyll. III. 361. Gallæus.

^a Petronii Satiricon c. 141 extr. and Servius ad Ae. III. 57.

^b Strabo X. 2. p. 332.

demned to death was kept till the festival of Chronos, and then strangled outside the gates, opposite the temple of Artemis ἀριστοβούλη, after they had given him wine to drink^c. So in Cyprus, in the cities Amathus and Salamis, a man was every year sacrificed to Zeus^d; in the latter city, in the month Aphrodisios, one to Agraulus, and in later times to Diomedes. The one appointed for the sacrifice, led by youths, ran three times around the altar, the priest then thrust a lance into his throat, and burned him whole upon a funeral pile, ὥλοκαύτιζεν. Diphilus, king of the Cyprians in the times of Seleucus the Theologian, first abolished this custom, by substituting the sacrifice of bulls for that of men^e. At Laodicea in Syria, a virgin was yearly sacrificed to Athena; instead thereof, in later times, a hind was offered^f. In general it may with certainty be assumed, that human expiatory sacrifices prevailed in all parts of Greece; among no other people are there found more or more various accounts of such offerings, than among the Hellenists. In the Pelasgian Arcadia, from the first periods till the Roman imperial times, men were sacrificed to the Lycaean Zeus^g: he that went into the Lyceum no longer cast a shadow^h. At Halus in Thessaly, all the descendants of Athamas that entered the sanctuary of Zeus Laphystius, were offered in sacrificeⁱ. Upon the island Lemnos, virgins^k were sacrificed to Artemis Orthia; upon Tenedos to Palaemon^l; upon Crete, children^m to Chronos and to Zeus; and Theseus was the first that abolished the tribute brought every year to the Minotaurⁿ. Upon the islands Lesbos, Chios and Tenedos, human sacrifices were offered to Dionysos Ὠμάδιος; and in Lacedaemon to

^c Porph. de Abst. II. 54.

^d Ovid. Metam. X. 224 seq. Lactantius I. 21.

^e Porph. de Abst. II. 54, 55.

^f Id. II. 56.

^g Plato Min. p. 254. Theophrastus in Porph. de Abst. II. 27. Pausan. VIII. 2, 38. Varr. fr. p. 361 seq. Bip.

^h Plut. Mor. p. 300.

ⁱ Herod. VII. 197. Plato Min. as cited.

^k Steph. Byz. v. Ἀῆμνος p. 183. Müller's Orchom. p. 310.

^l Lycophron 229 with Tzetzes.

^m Istrus in Porph. de Abst. II. 56. Plutarchus Thes. p. 6, D.

ⁿ Isocrates Encom. Hel. 27. p. 234. Bekker.

Ares°. The Locrian Ajax, son of Oileus, after the taking of Troy, dishonoured Cassandra, daughter of Priam, priestess of Athena. The goddess avenged the outrage not only upon the criminal, who in his voyage back was shipwrecked, but also upon all the Locrians, whom she visited with general public calamities. They consulted the oracle, and received for answer, that for a thousand years they must each year send two virgins to Troy, to serve in the temple of Athena, and this they did till the so-called holy war^p. The virgins were burned, and their ashes cast into the sea from mount Traron^q. Achilles, the noblest of Grecian heroes, sacrificed twelve Trojan youths to the manes of Patroclus^r; Neoptolemus immolated Polyxena to the memory of his father Achilles^s. Menelaus, detained in Egypt by adverse winds, sacrificed two boys^t. In the midst of the proper historic period of Greece, Themistocles, before the battle of Salamis, brought three Persian prisoners^u to the altar of Dionysos the Ferocious, Διόνυσος ὠμηστής; in accordance, as Phylarchus maintains, with an ancient custom, that all Greeks, ere they went to war, must offer human sacrifices^x."

"Prisoners were afterwards substituted for these voluntary sacrifices. In the year of the city 397, three hundred and seven Roman prisoners were immolated at one time, by the Etruscan Tarquinii, with Punic cruelty^y. As often as any great and general calamity threatened the existence of the Roman State, by order of the books of fate, human victims

° Dosidas in Clemens Alex. Cohort. p. 36. Porph. de Abst. II. 54. Euseb. Præp. Ev. IV. 16. and de Laud. Const. 13. 4 seq. Other instances of human sacrifices are adduced in Clem. Alex. Cohort. 3, p. 36 seq. and Cyrill. adv. Julianum, p. 128.

^p Plut. Moral. p. 557, D. and Schol. Lycophr. 1135.

^q Callim. fr. p. 564 Ern. and Tzetzes Chil. v. 23, 738.

^r Il. XXI. 27 seq. In like mode Æneas in Virgil X. 517 seq.

^s Eurip. Hec. 37 seq. 104 seq. 215 seq. 516 seq. Ovid. Metam. XIII. 441 seq.

^t Herod. II. 119.

^u Plut. Themist. p. 119, A. Aristid. p. 323 seq.

^x Phylarchus in Porph. de Abst. II. 56.

^y Liv. VII. 15.

were sacrificed. A man and woman of the Gauls, a man and woman of the Greeks, or natives of whatever country threatened them with danger, were buried alive in the cattle-market^z, with magical forms of prayer repeated by the president of the College of the Fifteen, who had charge of the Sibylline books^a. It was not until the year 657 of the city, or 97 years before Christ, that the senate issued a decree forbidding human sacrifices^b. But in spite of this we read, that the dictator J. Cæsar, A. U. 708, or 46 years before Christ, commanded a sacrifice of two men, with the traditionary solemnities, upon the Campus Martius, by the Pontifices and the Flamen Martis^c. And Augustus, after the defeat of L. Antonius, immolated four hundred senators and knights upon the altar of the deified Julius, at the Ides of March 713, or 43 years before Christ^d. Even in the times of Adrian, the beautiful Antinous died a voluntary sacrifice for the emperor^e; and the annual immolation of men to Jupiter Latiaris, upon the Alban mount, is said to have continued even into the third century of our era^f."

"As it was in Greece and Rome, so it was among almost all the oriental and occidental nations. Nowhere are to be found more bloody and fearful human sacrifices, than among the idolatrous descendants of Shem, especially in ancient Canaan, in Phœnicia and Carthage. Here, perhaps, we find human sacrifices in their primitive form. Not any and every human being was immolated, but the innocent children were selected; and among these, the

^z Plin. XXVIII. 2, 12.

^a Liv. XXII. 57. Plut. Marc. p. 299, C. and Mor. p. 283 seq.

^b Plin. XXX. 1, 12.

^c Dio Cass. XLIII. 24.

^d Dio Cass. XLVIII. 14. Suet. Octav. 15. Seneca de Clem. I. 11. Sextus Pomp. had not only horses but men thrown into the sea, as a sacrifice to Neptune. Dio Cass. XLVIII. 48.

^e Xiphilinus p. 356, 21. Syll. Ael. Spartianus Hadriano 14. Aur. Victor de Cæsaribus 14.

^f Porph. de Abst. II. 56. Just. Martyr Apol. II. p. 100, D. Theophilus ad Autol. III. p. 412, E. Tatian. adv. Græcos p. 284. B. Euseb. de Laud. Const. 13, 5. 1198. Zimmerin. Tertul. Apol. 8. and Scorp. adv. Gnost. 7. Minucius Fel. Octav. 21, 15. 30, 4. Lactantius I. 21, 30. Prudentius adv. Symmach. 1. 380.

preference was given to the only child or to the first-born^ε. A king of the Moabites, whom the three united kings of Israel, Judah and Edom had driven back into his principal city, takes his first-born son, and slays him upon the wall for a burnt-offering; and the three kings, indignant at this barbarity, returned to their own land^h. The Sepharvites burnt their children in fire to Adrammelech and Anammelechⁱ. The valley of Hinnom is especially designated as the place of abominations, where children were immolated to the Moloch of the Ammonites^k. The Phœnician history is full of such sacrifices. In all great calamities, in war or general sterility, in plague or famine, they believed that they could appease the wrath of Baal, who inflicted these punishments, by offering to him the dearest child as a piacular sacrifice^l. At Carthage there was a metallic statue of Chronos, in a bending posture, with hands stretched out and raised upwards. This statue was heated, till it glowed, by a kiln beneath; into its arms were placed the children destined for sacrifice; from its arms they fell into the gulf of fire beneath, dying in convulsions, which were said to be of laughter^m. The childless were wont to buy children of the poor. "The mother," says Plutarch, "stands by, without shedding a tear or uttering a sigh; should sigh or tear be observed, the money is lost, yet the child is sacrificed: around the image of the god, all resounds with the noise of kettle-drums and flutes, that the crying and wailing be not heardⁿ. Another author informs us, that the tears of the children were

^ε Euseb. de Laud. Const. 13, 4 τὰ μονογενῆ καὶ ἀγαπητὰ τῶν τέκνων κατασφάττειν.

^h 2 Kings 3: 27. [The English version reads, "indignation *against* Israel;" but the original is ^h2, super.]

ⁱ 2 Kings 17: 31.

^k 2 Chron. 28: 3. 33: 6. Is. 57: 5. Jer. 7: 32. 19: 2, 4 seq. Ex. 16: 20 seq. 23: 37 seq.

^l Sanchoniathon in Porph. de Abst. II. 56 and in Euseb. Pr. Ev. I. 10. IV. 16.

^m Clitarchus in the Schol. Plat. p. 396. Bekker. Diod. XX. 14.

ⁿ Plut. Mor. p. 171, B.

stified by caresses, ne flebilis hostia imoletur^o. It is evident that every attempt was made, to have at least the semblance of a voluntary sacrifice. When the Sicilian king Agathocles appeared before the walls of Carthage, the besieged, to repel the invaders, immolated upon the altar of Chronos two hundred boys of the noblest families; and three hundred more were voluntarily offered to a like sacrifice^p; and after the defeat of Agathocles, the best and most beautiful prisoners were slain as a thank-offering to the gods^q. Gelon had, indeed, (Ol. 75, 1,) when he conquered the Carthaginians at Himera, granted them peace only on condition that they, from that time forth, should sacrifice no more children to Chronos^r; but the agreement had no duration. The old and fearful superstition maintained its validity, until, under the reign of Tiberius, the public immolation of children ceased, but in secret it still continued^s."

"Among the gloomy and austere Egyptians, the existence of human sacrifices cannot be denied. Manetho testifies, that in the city Eileithya, every year in the dog-days, some so-called Typhonian (i. e. red-haired) men were burnt alive, and their ashes thrown into the air with winnowing-shovels^t; and like persons were sacrificed by the kings at the grave of Osiris^u. Milder was the custom of the religious

^o Min. Felix Octav. 30, 3. Tertul. Apol. 9.

^p Diod. XX. 14 and Pescennius Festus in Lactant. I. 21. p. 132.

^q Diod. XX. 65.

^r Plut. Mor. p. 175, A. 552, A. Comp. Just. 19, 1.

^s Tertul. Apol. 9. From a passage in Porph. de Abst. II. 27, it would seem that children were still sacrificed there in his times, 300 years after Christ. For a more full view of the Punic human sacrifices, see Fr. Münter, Religion d. Karthager, S. 17 ff.

^t Plut. Mor. p. 380, C. D.

^u Diodorus I. 88. The grave of Osiris is called, by the Egyptians, Busiris. Hence, the well known Grecian fable, that Busiris was an Egyptian king, who sacrificed foreigners and devoured their flesh, till Hercules put an end to the enormity. Pherecydes in the Schol. Apoll. Rh. IV. 1396. Apollod. II. 5. 11. Panyasis in Athen. IV. 72. Virg. Ge. III. 5. Ovid. de Arte Am. I. 649. Met. IX. 182. Trist. III. 11.

Ethiopians. Every twentieth generation, or every sixth hundredth year, there was a general purification of the land by two men, usually foreigners. They were put into a small boat, with provisions for two months, and commanded to sail towards the south, where they would arrive at a happy island, inhabited by just men^x. The Persians buried alive the men who were to be sacrificed^y; and it would seem to have been a custom amongst them, as with the Greeks, before a battle to slay prisoners^z. The Dumatians in Arabia sacrificed a boy every year, and buried him under the altar^a; the Arabians, in garments sprinkled with blood, offered regularly to Mars a warrior, and every Thursday to Jupiter a sucking child^b. The same human sacrifices, in fine, are found among the Northern nations; among the Scythians, the Getae and the Thracians^c; among the Russians on the Dnieper^d, the Swedes and the Danes^e; among the Germans^f, the Gauls^g, the Britons^h

39. This fable was adequately refuted, even among the ancients, by Herod. II. 45. Isoc. Busir. 5. 36, 37 and Diod. I. 88. Compare Creuzer, Symb. und Mythol. I. 352 seq.

^x Diodorus II. 55. When, on account of the wrath of Poseidon, Ethiopia was inundated, and was laid waste by a sea-monster, the oracle of Ammon declared, that the land would be delivered from the disaster, if Andromeda, the daughter of the king, should be cast out to this monster of the deep. The virgin was chained to a rock, but released by Perseus, and carried home as his bride. Apollod. II. 4, 3 and Heyne's Observ. p. 126.

^y Herod. VII. 114, with Wesseling's Comment.

^z Herod. VII. 180.

^a Porph. de Abst. II. 56.

^b Stühr's Religion der heidn. Völker des Orients, p. 407.

^c Herod. IV. 62. 71, 72. V. 5. Plut. Mor. p. 171, B. Porph. as above. Ovid. ex Ponto IV. 9, 84. Lucian de Sacrif. 13. The human sacrifices offered to the Taurian Artemis are known through all the world, comp. Diod. IV. 44, 45. Ovid. Trist. IV. 4, 61 seq. and ex Ponto III. 2, 45 seq. Lactan. I. 21 and A.

^d Solinus 15, 2.

^e La Cerda advers. sacra c. 43. Mone, Gesch. d. Heidenthums I. 261, 270. Grimm, deutsche Myth. p. 29.

^f Tac. Germ. 9. 38. Grimm, deutsche Myth. p. 26 seq.

^g Cæsar B. G. VI. 16. Just. XXVI. 2. Diod. V. 31, 32. Strabo IV. 4. p. 319. Lactan. I. 21. Min. Felix Octav. 30 and Plac. Lactan. in Statii Theb. X. 788.

^h Cæsar B. G. VI. 13. Tac. Agr. 11.

and the Celts¹. I will adduce only one additional instance, found among the Albans, from which it is made very clear, that those who offered it sought by contact with the sacrifice to become partakers of its expiatory virtue. After the man was slain, the body was carried to another place, where all, for the sake of the purification, touched it with the foot, ἐπιβαίνουσιν ἅπαντες καθαρσίῳ χρώμενοι^k." Ernst von Lasaulx. A full account of the Aztec sacrifices, particularly of that to the god Tezcatlepoça, is found in vol. I. of Prescott's Conquest of Mexico. As the facts given there rest on somewhat suspicious authority, their probability will be heightened by comparing a pamphlet "An Account of the Religion of the Khonds of Orissa, by Capt. S. C. Macpherson, 1852." See also Prof. H. H. Wilson "On the Sacrifice of Human beings, as an element of the ancient religion of India," who seems to agree with Colebrooke, that the human sacrifices mentioned in the earliest Hindu documents are to be considered as only typical. But that the idea existed, in despite of the abhorrence of bloodshed of that people, even though not carried out into act, is a significant circumstance. "That human offerings to the dark forms of Siva and Durga were sometimes perpetrated in later times. we know from various original sources. . . . No such divinities, however, neither Siva nor Durga, much less any of their terrific forms, are even named, so far as we know, in the Vedas, and therefore these works could not be authority from their sanguinary worship." On the human sacrifices of Crete, which had a common origin with those of Carthage, both being Phœnician, see "Pashley's Crete" I. p. 132 foll. The worship of Chronos in Carthage is related to that of Moloch, (Lev. xviii. 24. xx. 2,) which Solomon allowed to take root in Judea, influenced therein by the women of his household, (1 Kings xi. 5, 7. 2 Kings xi. 33,) and the Jews seem to have continued it in the valley of Hinnom (2 Kings xxiii. 10. Jer. xxxii. 35) until Josias put an end to it (2 Kings xxiii. 10, 13).

¹ Lucanus I. 444. Zeuss, die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme, p. 32.

^k Strab. XI. 4. p. 417.

Note 27. p. 40.

Of the ordinary sacrifices of the Greeks and Romans there is a very full account in the tract of Professor Von Lasaulx. See also De Maistre Soirées, &c., vol. II. Also, for those of various religions, Creuzer's Symbolik, and Guigniaut's French translation, with many valuable notes. For the Brahminical rites, see Lassen (Indische Alterthumskunde).

Note 28. p. 42.

That the blood is the life has been the opinion of different ages, nations, and stages of knowledge. "So taught the Egyptians (Horapollon I. 7) and Persians (Strabo XV. p. 503, 504. Casaub. 1587), the old Roman pontifical books (Servius ad Æn. II. 118) and all the physiologists of ancient times, Pythagoras (Diog. La. VIII. 30.) Empedocles (Fr. 315. ed. Sturz. Cicero. Tusc. I. 9.) Hippocrates (I. 490, 583. II. 209. ed. Kühn.) Critias (Aristot. de An. I. 2. 405. b.) Galen (de plac. Hip. et Plat. II. 8 [V. 208. ed. Kühn]). With this idea of the blood is also connected the ancient popular superstition, that a bath or draught of fresh human blood is the only remedy for certain otherwise incurable diseases, particularly for leprosy and epilepsy. (Aretæus de curatione morb. diu. I. 312. ed. Kühn. Celsus III. 23. Pliny XXVI. 1. XXVIII. 1, 4. Tertul. Apol. 9. Minucius Fel. Oct. 30, 5. The Pseudo-Jonathan's Chaldee paraphrase of Ex. ii. 23, and Midraseh Rabbah to Ex. ii. 1)."
Ernst von Lasaulx. Harvey says, "Vita igitur in sanguine consistit (uti etiam in sacris nostris legimus) quippe in ipso vita atque anima primum elucet, ultimoque deficit.... Sanguis denique totum corpus adeo circumfluit et penetrat, omnibus ejus partibus calorem et vitam jugiter impertit; ut anima primo et principaliter in ipso residens, illius gratia, *tota in toto et tota in qualibet parte* (ut vulgo dicitur) inesse, merito censeatur.... Clare constat sanguinem esse partem genitalem, fontem vitæ, primum vivens et ultimo moriens, sedemque animæ primariam; in quo, tanquam in fonte, calor primo et præcipue abundat, vigetque; et a quo reliquæ omnes totius corporis partes, calore influente foven-

tur et vitam obtinent....Ideoque concludimus, sanguinem per se vivere et nutriri; nulloque modo ab alia aliqua corporis parte, vel priore vel præstantiore dependere." (De Generatione li. quoted in Hunter's Works, iii. 104.) An elaborate argument on the same point is found in Hunter, (Works, iii. 103. Treatise on the Blood, ch. I. § 6.) "Although," says J. Müller, "organic matter generally be considered as merely susceptible of life, and the organised parts as living, yet the blood also must be regarded as endowed with life, for its actions cannot certainly be comprehended from chemical and physical laws." (Physiology I. 154. Baly's Trans. Ed. II.) Müller it is true extends the same observation to other fluids; but all that is contended for here is confirmed by him and by other authorities, viz. that the blood performs functions in sustaining and repairing the bodily organs, and by a vital power in itself, so that it may truly be said that "the blood is the life." See also, for signs of *life* in the blood, Copland's Dictionary, Art. BLOOD.

Note 29. p. 43.

See De Maistre Soirées II. p. 270.

Note 30. p. 45.

The career of Buddha was mainly a protest against the exclusive claims of the Brahmins to teach the way to divine knowledge. His principal doctrines were that worldly things undergo perpetual change, that men's condition in this life is the consequence of their conduct in an earlier, that there is an endless series of births and new-births, that the highest happiness consists in freeing oneself from the necessity of being born again, that pain is the destiny of all existence, and that each must strive to free himself from it. These tenets he taught, not, like the Brahmins, in schools where only pupils of the privileged caste were admitted, but by preaching and teaching them every where to the whole people. By maintaining that he was in possession of the highest knowledge, he virtually denied the authority of the sacred books, and with them undermined the elaborate sacrificial system of which the Brahmins

were the exclusive directors. He received men of all castes as his followers, and taught them all alike the same morality. Whilst the Brahmins held it as the highest duty to observe all the ceremonies and ordinances of their books, and in doing this were withdrawn from all sympathy with the general welfare, the object of Buddha was to carry light to all men and to draw all to practice virtue and self-denial. See Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol. II. p. 439. The chief historical feature of Buddhism is its hierarchy; the Brahmins were an influential corporation, widely diffused, but they were not a hierarchy such as Buddhism exhibits. This portion of the system of Buddha still remains. But the spirit of the founder has passed away from the body he constituted. See Lassen, *Ibid.* p. 449, also *Kreuzer Symbolik*, vol. I. ch. 2. § 5. with note; Guigniaut's translation of *Kreuzer* with notes there. *Colebrooke's Essays*, vol. I. p. 390. *Burnouf, Introd. à l'hist. du Budd.*; two elaborate works by the Rev. R. S. Hardy, lately published, on "Eastern Monachism" and "Buddhism" (for Cingalese Buddhism); *Huc's Travels in Tatory, &c.* (for Chinese form.) *Abel-Remusat, Mélanges Asiatiques*. B. H. Hodgson's *Sketch of Buddhism, Transactions of Asiatic Society* (4to), vol. II. and many other papers in those Transactions. I believe the 2d vol. of Lassen is the best, partly because the latest, source of knowledge of Buddhism.

Note 31. p. 46.

Homer II. XIX. 267. *Apol. Rhod.* III. 1033. *Porph. de Abst.* II. 44. *Pausan.* III. 20. 9. V. 24. 2. But in transferring this to the Jewish system, a caution is required, see pp. 68—70, and note 40.

Note 32. p. 46.

Tum per frequentes mille rimarum vias,
 Illapsus imber tabidum rorem pluit;
 Defossus intus quem sacerdos excipit,
 Guttas ad omnes turpe subjectum caput,
 Et veste et omni putrefactus corpore.

Quin os supinat, obvias offert genas ;
 Supponit aures ; labia, nares objicit,
 Oculos et ipsos proluit liquoribus :
 Nec jam palato pareit, et linguam rigat
 Donec cruorem totus atrum combibat.

The inscription quoted in the text is No. 2352 in Orelli's Collection. It dates however within Christian times (A.D. 376). The *taurobolion* was the offering of a bull (the *criobolion*, of a ram) to Cybele the mother of the gods. A deep trench was dug, and planks pierced with holes were placed over it; under these the person who was to undergo this disgusting lustration placed himself, whilst the beast, with its horns gilded, was brought and slain upon the planks. The blood flowed down upon every part of the man below, who thus considered himself purified for twenty years to come, or even for ever. Many inscriptions relating to it are found in Gruter and Orelli.

Note 33. p. 47.

Plato, Alcibiades II. 149. E.

Note 34. p. 48.

The Rev. G. S. Faber on Expiatory Sacrifice, p. 52.

Note 35. p. 51.

This is the view of Spencer, Meiners, Winer and others. See Bähr II. p. 269.

Note 36. p. 52.

“ Superstition by an easy corruption of mind might soon come to think that the animal victim was not merely *the representative of a deserved punishment*, in which use it was rational; but the real equivalent for it, in which sense it was most unreasonable: and might thus resort to sacrifice for pardon, as well as confession.” Davidson's Inquiry, &c., p. 144. “ Neque alio nisi sensu symbolico victimarum substitutio in locum offerentis sumi potest, licet postea sicut omnia symbola in superstitionem verterit.” De Wette (De Morte Christi).

Note 37. p. 52.

“According to the maxim, ‘in sacris etiam simulata pro veris haberiⁿ,’ since the *will* is the essential and fundamental point, in the whole matter of sacrifices, we find the principle of substitution still further carried out and developed. At Heliopolis, in Egypt, it was the custom to sacrifice, every day, three men to Hera. King Amosis abolished this; and, instead thereof, commanded the oblation of as many wax figures^o. In Rome every year, after the vernal equinox, on the Ides of May, three or four and twenty so-called Argei, that is, images of men made of rushes, were cast down from the Sublician bridge into the Tiber, by the priests and Vestal virgins, for the expiation of the people. Hercules is said to have introduced this custom by teaching, that the images of men were to be substituted for human victims^p. In like manner, at the festival of the Compitalia, to the Lares of the cross-ways, instead of the original sacrifices of children, dolls and skeins of wool were afterwards hung up; and the consul Brutus ordered, that the heads of the poppy and onion should be offered instead of human heads, in order to satisfy the letter of the law, *ut pro capitibus capitibus supplicaretur*^q. The city Cyzicus was sacred to Persephone; at her festival a black cow was sacrificed. When in the second Mithridatic war, at the siege of the city, this had become impossible, they made of wheat-meal an image of a cow^r. The poor were generally wont to sacrifice these cows made of meal instead of the actual animal^s. The

ⁿ Serv. ad *Æ.* II. 116. and *Mythogr. Vat.* III. 6, 30. p. 193, 18.

^o *Porph. de Abst.* II. 55.

^p *Varro de L. L.* VII. 44. *Ov. Fast.* V. 621. *Dionys. I.* 38. *Plut. Mor.* p. 172, A.

^q *Macrobian. Sat.* I. 7. *Festus*, p. 91 and p. 207.

^r But the goddess then sent a black cow over the sea, that of its own accord ran into the temple, and stood still by the altar. *Plut. Lucullo*, p. 498, A. *App. de bello Mith.* 75. and *Porph. de Abst.* I. 25.

^s *Suidas* v. *βοὺς ἑβδόμος* T. I. p. 448 seq. In like manner acted Empedocles after the precedence of Pythagoras. See *Athenæus* I. 5. and *Philostratus* V. *Apoll.* I. 1.

Locrians made small bulls even of wood, as a substitute for the real creature^t; and at the festival of the Bœotian Hercules, apples were offered instead of sheep, because both are called *μηλα*^u.” Ernst von Lasaulx.

^t Zenobius V. 5. and Leutsch on the passage.

^u Pollux I. 30, 31.

NOTES.

LECTURE III.

Note 38. p. 65.

“THE legal sacrifices, though merely symbolical in reference to acceptance with God, were strictly vicarious and possessed a real efficacy with respect to the outward theocracy.” The law was too complicated for perfect observance. Hence sacrifices were provided to atone for sins of ignorance and negligence; and, so far as the preservation of the offender’s position in God’s people went, they were effectual. Great sins wilfully committed were punished with excommunication or death. “But the sin-offering affected not merely the relation of the sinner to the outward theocracy, but also to the holy and righteous God; in this respect however they were not efficacious but only symbolical. When the sinner caused the blood of the animal to be poured out, he declared that he had deserved death, if God were disposed to deal with him according to his justice instead of his mercy. The efficacy of the sacrifices, in this respect, depended entirely on the disposition with which they were presented.” Hengstenberg *Christologie*, vol. I. p. 265. (p. 196–7 American Trans.)

Note 39. p. 66.

The chief passages of holy Scripture that speak of the trespass-offering are Lev. v. 1, 15; vi. 1; Num. v. 6; Lev. xix. 20; Num. vi. 9; Lev. xiv. 12, 21. But the greatest uncertainty prevails as to the distinction between the sin-offering (חטאת *ἁμαρτία*, περὶ τῆς ἁμαρτίας LXX) and the

trespass-offering (צִדְקָה פִּלְהִימְעִלִּיָּה, τὸ τῆς πλημμελείας). According to Reland, Venema, Buddens and others, the sin-offering was for a transgression of which there were witnesses, the trespass-offering, for one known only to the offender's conscience, supported by Josephus, *Antiq.* III. 9. § 3. Philo *de Vict.* p. 844. Paris ed. Michaelis and Jahn assign the sin-offering to sins of commission, and the trespass-offering to those of omission; see above, the rendering of the LXX. Grotius holds the same ground of difference, but reverses the arrangement. Other opinions are given, but none are free from difficulty. See the matter discussed in Bähr II. 400—412. De Wette, *de Morte Christi*, p. 14 (*Opuscula*, p. 20) note. *Hebrew Archæology*, §. 202. Wiener, *Realwörterbuch*, Art. Schuldopfer.

Note 40. p. 69.

The former of these opinions is the more general; see quotations in Ugolini *Thesaur. Antiqu. Sacr.* X. 680, and Outram *de Sacrif.* I. 22. for Rabbinical authorities. In the present day it numbers Gesenius and Hengstenberg among its supporters. The latter is the view of Bähr, (II. p. 210,) and is not far different from that of De Wette (*Archäologie*, § 202). The principal arguments for the theory that the victim bore the anger of God *instead of* the worshipper, have been thus summed up, 1. The blood, as the life of the victim, is shed, (*Lev.* xvii. 11, see p. 263,) and the victim becomes unclean, as if by the passing over of the sin to it (*Lev.* vi. 24—30, but this has been otherwise explained by Bähr, II. 393 note, who proves that the blood is treated as *sacred* not as impure). 2. The analogy of other sacrifices, as the sacrifice of a covenant (*Jer.* xxxv. 18. Compare Sophocles, *Ajax* 1141. *Iliad* xix. 267); the expiation of a murder (*Deut.* xxi. 1—9); and the scape-goat (*Lev.* xvi. 21). 3. The analogy of other nations; Egyptians (*Herod.* II. 39), Gauls (*Cæsar de Bel. Gal.* VI. 15), and Romans (*Ovid. Fasti* vi. 160). See De Wette, *de Morte Christi* (*Opusc.* p. 23); *Dogmatik*, § 126; *Archäologie*, § 202. Also Bähr, II. 277. See above, notes 31 and 38.

Note 41. p. 71.

De duobus hircis diei expiationis mandatum est, ut sint pares in aspectu et statura et pretio, et ut simul etiam capiantur. *Mischna Joma*, vi. 1. (in Bähr.)

Note 42. p. 72.

Spencer (de leg. Hebr. III. 8. 1) in modern times, not without Rabbinical authority, was the leading supporter of this view. But “*פְּעָלָל* is the Pealpal form” [Pe’al’al, in Roorda Gram. Heb. I. 101] “of *פָּלַל* *removit*, with the elision of the last letter of the penultimate syllable, and its replacement by an unchangeable vowel, as *הַפְּעִילִי* for *הַפְּעִילִי*; this form heightens the sense, “for *complete* sending away.” Tholuck (Hebräer, Beilage, II. p. 83. Comp. LXX. ἀποπομπαιός, Vulgate, *emissarius*). Ewald Krit. Gram. 243.

Note 43. p. 72.

The whole subject is discussed by Bähr, II. 664 foll.

Note 44. p. 75.

Hengstenberg, Christologie, I. p. 59 (p. 50 American Trans.), reviews the various opinions.

Note 45. p. 81.

Hengstenberg, I. p. 283. (p. 210 American Trans.)

Note 46. p. 83.

See the eloquent “Discourses” of John Smith, of Cambridge, (ob. 1652,) 8. “of the Shortness and Vanity of a Pharisaic righteousness.”

Note 47. p. 83.

According to Josephus the Sadducees τὴν μὲν εἰμαρμένην ἀναιρουσιν, οὐδὲν εἶναι ταύτην ἀξιοῦντες οὔτε κατ’ αὐτὴν τὰ ἀνθρώπινα τέλος λαμβάνειν, ἅπαντα δὲ ἐφ’ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς τίθενται ὥς καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν αἰτίους ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς γινομένους καὶ τὰ χεῖρω παρὰ ἡμετέραν ἀβουλίαν λαμβάνοντες. Antiqu. XIII. 5, 9; and Bell. Jud. II. 8. 14.

Note 48. p. 86.

Pliny to Trajan (Ep. lib. X); Tacitus (Annal. 15, 44).

N O T E S.

LECTURE IV.

Note 49. p. 93.

SEE Catena Aurea, Kuinoel, and Alford, on John xiv. 28.

Note 50. p. 94.

Besides the places in holy Scripture where the name is ascribed to Jesus, we should consider those where divine powers and attributes are given him; he existed before the world (John viii. 58; xvii. 5; Phil. ii. 6; Heb. i. 10); he is Omniscient (Mat. xi. 27; John vi. 46; xvi. 15, 30); Almighty (Mat. xi. 27; xxviii. 19; Luke x. 22); the Creator and Governor of the world (Col. i. 16; 1 Cor. viii. 6; Heb. i. 2, 10); the Cause of the resurrection, and Judge of all men (John v. 21; Mat. vii. 22; xxv. 31; Phil. iii. 20); and the honour due to God is paid him (Acts i. 24; vii. 59; Rom. ix. 1; x. 12; 1 Cor. i. 2; 2 Cor. xii. 8; Heb. iv. 16; Rev. v. 8; vii. 12).

Note 51. p. 95.

The name of Son of Man, which, as we have seen, our Lord applies to himself, whilst others rarely apply it to him, is the name of a creature applied to the Lord of all creatures, of a finite nature applied to the Infinite himself; therefore it implies humiliation (Phil. ii. 5). But this does not hinder us from understanding it as a name for the Man *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, the Messiah, derived probably from Dan. vii. 13. In respect to God, it implied humiliation; in respect to men preeminence and kingly power, not without an implied parallel between the Fall and the Redemption; "since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead." 1 Cor. xv. 21—45.

Note 52. p. 95.

In using an ancient name for the Son of God, not found in holy Scripture, I am not unmindful of the excellent remarks of Dr. Hawkins, Provost of Oriel, on the employment of titles other than scriptural. See his "Scriptural Types and Sacraments," pp. 85, 103. In the text I have used *once for all* a name that brings out strongly the truth under discussion; against the *habitual* substitution of other names for those which our Lord and his apostles use to designate his divine person, Dr. Hawkins' remarks apply.

Note 53. p. 97.

This seems to answer the sceptical question—What purpose did the Transfiguration answer in our Lord's ministry? See "The Transfiguration, A Sermon preached at Oxford" by the present writer.

Note 54. p. 97.

"Pererebuerat Oriente toto vetus et constans opinio; esse in fatis, ut eo tempore Judæa profecti rerum potirentur." Suetonius, Vespasian. cap. IV. "Pluribus persuasio inerat antiquis sacerdotum literis contineri eo ipso tempore fore ut valesceret Oriens, profectique Judæa rerum potirentur." Tacitus, Hist. V. 13.

Note 55. p. 99.

Besides Mat. xx. 28, xxvi. 28, it is worthy of remark that *all* the Evangelists alike refer to Isaiah liii. in connexion with Jesus; Mat. viii. 17; Mark xv. 28; Luke xxii. 37; John xii. 38. Note too the reference to the Old Testament in connexion with his sufferings in Luke xxiv. 25, 26; see also Lecture III. p. 60. On the "characteristic differences in the Four Gospels," there are many suggestions in the Rev. I. Williams' "Study of the Gospels;" though some of them seem to me fanciful, they are brought together, from patristic sources almost exclusively, with great spiritual insight and pious feeling.

Note 56. p. 101.

See Bishop Butler's admirable Sermons "Upon Compassion" (Serm. V. VI).

Note 57. p. 106.

Christology of De Wette.] The view in the text is that of the learned De Wette. His own words are annexed, from his Essay *De Morte Christi expiatoria*, p. II. § 23: "Natus est Jesus eo tempore, quo populus Judaicus eo rerum et sacrarum et publicarum statu erat, ut non solum populus antiquæ illi Messiae, patriæ vindicis, expectationi impense indulgeret, sed cordatiores etiam rerum in melius mutationem desiderarent. Pro diversa autem animi indole et cultu diverse sentiebant de ratione ac modo hujus salutis, communibus votis expetitæ. Et plurimi quidem Messiam regem victoriosum atque potentissimum, alii vero, iidemque pauciores, non solum victorem, sed etiam legislatorem, sacerorum restitutorem, morum censorem, prophetam expectabant. Jesus autem ulterius progressus, ab omni politicæ libertatis et potentiæ recuperandæ spe abstinendum, omnemque salutem in animi morumque emendatione et veræ pietatis affectatione quærendam esse sibi persuasit. Ad quam internam salutem populo suo afferendam cum se a Deo electum sentiret, prodiit, expectati Messiae persona suscepta, et felicem rerum conversionem a se perficiendam prædicavit. Ne autem reipublicæ vindicem se fore sperarent, statim prima oratione, quam ad populum habuit, diserte est professus, se eorum tantum causa venisse, qui novis rebus moliendis plane renuntiantes nonnisi mentis saluti consulere vellent. Abolevit itaque usitatam Messiae notionem, et novam eamque spiritualem induxit. Qua in re autem accommodationem, quam dicunt, adhibuisse Jesum haud dixerim; nam Messiam se esse non simulavit, sed re vera persuasum habuit, et diserte professus est. Alium Messiam, nisi talem, qualem ipse se præbebat, cogitare non potuit. Neque ab initio dubitasse videtur, quin populares simulæ veræ salutis viam iis monstrasset, hanc se duce ingressuri essent. Quod omnibus, qui pura incor-

ruptaque animi indole gaudent, accidere solet, ut nimis bonam de hominibus habeant opinionem, id Jesu accidisse videtur, qui in rebus cœlestibus habitans, in terrestribus peregrinans, amore humani generis plenus, rei suæ optima quæque augurabatur. Speravit fore, ut non solum discipuli, licet rudes et indocti, sublinem suam de regno divino doctrinam amplecterentur, sed etiam universus populus, paucis licet, Pharisæis præsertim, reluctantibus et contra rem ipsius pugnantibus, ad regnum sacrum a se condendum accederet. Qua fiducia fretus, cum discipulos in oppida Israelitarum mitteret, ut regnum divinum annuntiarent, jussit eos in persecutionibus et calamitatibus, quas iis haud defore prævidebat, bono animo esse, promittens, fore, ut, priusquam totam regionem peragrassent, Messianam dignitatem adeptus de inimicis triumpharet (Mat. x. 23). Sed multum eum fefellit opinio tum de discipulis, tum de populo universo. Illos vulgaribus de Messia ejusque regno imbutos opinionibus, nihil nisi dominationem spirantes, in suam de regno divino sententiam frustra adducere studebat; hic ad miracula spectanda et eloquentiam admirandam undique concurrebat, multi etiam cum prophetam venerantur; pauci, quid vellet, capiebant. Quæ cum ita essent, vel ab incepto prorsus erat desistendum, vel imbecillitati popularium quodammodo parcendum. Quod si Jesus aperte declarasset, se nihil nisi societatem sacram instituere velle, ideoque ab omni Messianæ felicitatis spe abstinendum esse: sane ab omnibus desertus et explosus esset. Necesse itaque ei fuit, quam in præsentia præstare nec volebat nec poterat felicitatem, eam saltem in futurum tempus promittere. Locutus igitur est de futuro suo ad regnum Messianum instituendum adventu, de judicio habendo, de æterna piis doctrinæ suæ adseclis destinata felicitate et æternis improborum pœnis, sperans fore, ut his promissis ad doctrinam suam allectos animos sensim sensimque ad veram pietatem probitatemque et sublimiorem de regno Messiano sententiam perduceret. Sed et hæc cum fefellit spes. Messianæ felicitatis, licet in futurum tempus rejectæ, expectatio nihilominus animos occupatos tenebat, abstrahabatque ab eo, quod Jesus intendebat. Præterea verendum

erat, ne, expectationi eventu haud respondente, fraudis eum accusarent, remque ejus prorsus desererent. Hic nodus expediri non potuit nisi morte Jesu. Jure suo sperabat, discipulos, si mortuus esset, spem terrestris regni penitus abjecturos, animumque ad cœlestia directuros. Mortem igitur sibi esse subeundam intellexit, subire nullus dubitavit. Neque solum hoc modo causæ suæ optime consuluit, sed gravissimo animi desiderio satisfecit. Nimirum quo lætiores ab initio de regno divino in terris condendo spem aluerat, eo magis, postea animo afflictus et mœstitia depressus fuisse videtur. Hominum perversitatem, malitiam, cæcitatem satis superque expertus, sacro cuidam dolori atque mœrori se dedit, qui eum inter vivos diutius morari vetabat. Exsulere quasi in terris se sentiens, cœlestem patriam repetiit. Internæ huic mortis oppetendæ necessitati accessit externa. Liberiore doctrina, qua rei Leviticæ intentum minitabatur, et severa procerum, Phariseorum præsertim, de sceleribus et fraudibus reprehensione tantum invidiam sibi paraverat, ut nisi veritatem deserere et prodere vellet, insidiis inimicorum succumbendum esset. Mortem igitur, quam causæ suæ utilem fore intelligebat, quamque animus a rebus terrestribus avocatus appetebat, ei necesse non fuit sponte querere, sed tantum non turpiter fugere." Strange as this theory is, it is more strange as proceeding from a learned and laborious scholar, with a power of clear expression rare in his country, and above all of a blameless life. See Hagenbach's Sermon at De Wette's funeral. Basel 1849.

Note 58. p. 110.

Compare the Crito of Plato; the whole argument is full of exalted self-devotion.

Note 59. p. 112.

See the *Leben Jesu* of this author; of which there is an English translation; also his *Doqmatik* and *Streitschriften*. "This is the key to the whole of Christology, that, as subject of the predicate which the Church assigns to Christ, we place, instead of an individual, an idea; but an idea which has an existence in reality, not in the mind only,

like that of Kant. In an individual, a God-man, the properties and functions which the Church ascribes to Christ contradict themselves; in the idea of the race, they perfectly agree. Humanity is the union of the two natures—God become man, the infinite manifesting itself in the finite, and the finite spirit remembering its infinitude; it is the child of the visible Mother and the invisible Father, Nature and Spirit: it is the worker of miracles, in so far as in the course of human history the spirit more and more completely subjugates nature, both within and around man, until it lies before him as the inert matter on which he exercises his active power; it is the sinless existence, for the course of its development is a blameless one, pollution cleaves to the individual only, and does not touch the race or its history. It is Humanity that dies, rises, and ascends to heaven, for from the negation of its phenomenal life there ever proceeds a higher spiritual life: from the suppression of its mortality as a personal, national, and terrestrial spirit, arises its union with the infinite spirit of the heavens. By faith in this Christ, especially in his death and resurrection, man is justified before God: that is, by the kindling within him of the idea of Humanity, the individual man participates in the divinely human life of the species. Now the main element of that idea is, that the negation of the merely natural and sensual life, which is itself the negation of the spirit, (the negation of negation, therefore,) is the sole way to the true spiritual life." *Leben Jesu* II. 709. (III. 437. Eng. Trans.)

Note 60. p. 112.

Strauss, *Leben Jesu*, (Introduction § 10.) who quotes George; and Müller's *Mythology* (p. 12. Eng. Trans.)

Note 61. p. 114.

Amand-Saintes, *Histoire*, p. 458. foll.

Note 62. p. 115.

So many works have been written against the theory of Strauss, that it would be difficult to specify them. Nean-

der, Leben Jesu ; some papers by Nitzsch in the *Studien und Kritiken* vols. 15 and 16 ; an essay by Julius Müller of Halle on the Theory of Myths, in the same series ; Tholuck, *Glaubwürdigkeit der Evang. Gesch.* ; are but a few of the number. Dr. J. R. Beard has combined, under the inappropriate title of “Voices of the Church in reply to Strauss,” several tracts by members of various communions in defence of the Gospels ; Dr. B. himself, Professor Quinet, Athanase Coquerel, Tholuck, J. Müller, and Neander are among the contributors. In the Preface he mentions several works bearing on the subject. In spite of active efforts it can scarcely be said that Strauss’ theory *as a system* has made much impression on the English mind ; but old doubts have been revived by it, and new ones started. Paley’s *Evidences* and *Horæ Paulinæ*, Lardner’s works, Blunt’s *Undesigned Coincidences*, supply a defence against them. The neglect of the first-named work in Oxford is to be regretted ; the *Analogy* of Bishop Butler by no means covers all the ground contested at present. There is a criticism of Strauss’ views in Dean Milman’s *History of Christianity*. The principal points to which his opponents address themselves are, that his theory begs the question in assuming that miracles are impossible ; that it would destroy all faith in history ; [Archbishop Whateley’s *Historic Doubts* relative to Napoleon Bonaparte, and a similar treatment of “the life of Luther” by J. F. Wurm, found in Beard’s *Voices*, &c., and a mythical view of the history of the United States, cleverly done by Theodore Parker in his *Miscellaneous Writings*, show how easy it is to raise plausible doubts as to the nearest and surest facts] ; that it would leave Christianity, which has changed the face of the world, an effect without a cause ; that if the Gospel only embodied the floating ideas of the age in which Christ was crucified, it would contain political views and allusions, the thoughts of an oppressed people turning naturally to civil freedom ; that an age of doubt and mockery like that was, by no means favourable to the growth of myths, which require an atmosphere of credulity ; that the space of thirty years, between the death of Christ and the destruction of Jeru-

saalem, was far too short for the growth of a system of myths, as supposed in Strauss' theory; that the true conditions for the formation of such a system were not present in the case of Jesus of Nazareth; [Coquerel eloquently contrasts with his lowly life the brilliant position and exploits of Charlemagne, which in a romantic age grew up into the Charlemagne of the Pseudo-Turpin's Chronicle, "the hero's great renown; the interval of nearly three hundred years between the real history and the written fiction; generations of unparalleled ignorance and credulity, the vast extent of the theatre of events; an excessive power of superstition, and the double flight that chivalry and the crusades gave to the imagination"]; that the style of the Gospels is not that of men who deal in fables, but is simple, plain, unaffected and familiar, and that this becomes more evident on a comparison with the Apocryphal Gospels; that the distinct individuality of the persons in the New Testament, as of the Virgin Mary and St. Paul in particular, are a proof of its historical character; that the character of Jesus himself, as a practical ideal of virtue and holiness, never surpassed or to be surpassed, is beyond human invention, and certainly was not the result of floating fables and ideas in men's minds; and lastly, that the unity of idea and of purpose in Christianity as a system could not have proceeded from such causes. Besides these general arguments, particular passages of Scripture have been defended, as by Tholuck and Neander in the works above referred to. But even against the ground taken by the apologists, we should find matter of objection, as the advocates of the historical character of the Gospels in Germany have surrendered far too much. Dr. Mill (of Cambridge) in his "Christian Advocate's Publications" has done excellent service in this way.

Note 63. p. 116.

See Strauss on this point. *Life of Jesus*, concluding Dissertation, § 152. He candidly opens the whole difficulty, but leaves the question unsettled—how shall the

philosopher holding the mythical view preach to the people, who hold the historical, without hypocrisy?

Note 64. p. 117.

See Baur, *Versöhnung*, for an account of later views in Germany; in our own country they are not so rife.

Note 65. P. 117.

Such poets as Philip James Bailey and Alexander Smith would not lose in real strength by a more reverent use of the Divine Name.

Note 66. p. 117.

The rich rewards from them have turned the attention of man to the material sciences; at the same time that the worship of strength and of genius has insensibly confounded their view of the beauty of holiness and obedience.

Note 67. p. 117.

The “Positive Philosophy” of Auguste Comte attempts to bind this state of things into a system; but the obvious tendencies of ordinary thought at this moment are in the same direction.

NOTES.

LECTURE V.

Note 68. p. 121.

STRAUSS, in his *Soliloquies*, reprinted from the “*Freihafen*,” and translated into English. Bengel rightly apprehends the passage, which has been too often interpreted in a way to give colour to the specious objection of Strauss. “*Ceteri homines omnes nec falsa spe lætantur, et præsentis vitæ fructum libere percipiunt; nos si mortui non resurgunt, falsa spe lætamur stolide, et per abnegationem nostri et mundi, certum præsentis vitæ fructum amittimus, dupliciter miserabiles. Jam nunc beati sunt Christiani: sed non in iis rebus, quibus ceteri homines pascuntur; et sublata spe alterius vitæ, præsens lætitia spiritualis imminuitur. Præsentissimum in Deo gaudium habent fideles, et ideo jam sunt beati: sed si non est resurrectio, gaudium illud magnopere debilitatur. Hoc momentum est alterum: prius momentum est, quod Christianorum beatitas non est sita in rebus mundanis. Utroque momento confirmatur felicitas ex spe resurrectionis.*”

Note 69. p. 126.

See Kant, *Kritik*, p. 322. The old Rhetoricians used the word *ἀντινομία* when one law contradicted another. Quinct. *Inst.* VII. 7. Voss. *Inst. Rhet.* I. p. 165.

Note 70. p. 134.

A misquotation from Tertullian misled me here, as it has others. The words attributed to him, “*Christus peccata hominum omni satisfactionis habitu expiavit*” (*De Pat.* 10), do not occur in the place assigned them, nor, it is believed, in any other of his writings. He introduced the

word satisfactio, but in the sense of making amends for one's own sins by repentance and a better life: in the sense of satisfactio vicaria it does not seem to occur. [Compare Cic. in Verr. II. 1. 3. In qua civitate legatus populi Romani violatus sit, nisi publice satisfactum sit, ei civitati bellum indici solere.] See Tertullian de Cultu fem. I. 1. which has probably suggested the spurious quotation, Si tanta in terris moraretur fides quanta merces ejus expectaretur in cœlis, nulla vestrum lætiorem habitum appetisset, ut non squalorem potius affectaret, ipsam se circumferens Evam lugentem et pœnitentem, quo plenius id, quod de Eva trahit, omnis satisfactionis habitu expiaret. De Patientia, 3. Patientia Domini in Malcho vulnerata est. Itaque sanitatis restitutione ei, quem non ipse vexaverat, satisfecit per patientiam, misericordiæ matrem. Also de Jejun. 3. Cont. Jud. 10. *Satisfacere* in Roman law differed from *solvere*, in that the latter applied to the simple discharge of a debt, the former to any mode of appeasing the creditor. "Satisfactum autem accipimus, quemadmodum voluit creditor, licet non sit solutum." Ulp. Dig. 13. 7. 9.

Note 71. p. 135.

See Modestin. Dig. 46. 4. 1. for the sense of acceptilatio, as an acceptance of an imaginary payment. Duns Scotus held (see L. III. dist. 19.) that Christ merited for us *non quatenus Deus, sed quatenus homo*. His merit then must have been finite, but was accepted of God as infinite, of his will and pleasure. *Pro quantis et pro quot Deus voluit passionem illam sive bonum velle acceptare, pro tot sufficit*. This scheme gives no answer to Anselm's question—Would not the death of a man or an angel have sufficed? On the other hand Thomas Aquinas (Summa, III. Quæst. 46—49) held that the merit of Jesus was infinitely great, and the satisfaction made by it was not merely sufficient but superabundant. So speaks the Romish Church now; Est integra atque omnibus numeris perfecta satisfactio, quam Christus Patri persolvit. Neque vero pretium debitis nostris par solum et æquale fuit, verum ea longe superavit. Catechism. Rom. I. 2. 6. In the prayer of conse-

eration in the Communion Service of our own Church, it is said that Christ made upon the Cross "by his one oblation of himself, once offered, a full perfect and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world." On the use of unscriptural terms, see Dr. Hawkins' (Provost of Oriel) *Scriptural Types and Sacraments*, p. 85. Also above, Note 52.

Note 72. p. 136.

The former opinion is that of Hollaz; the latter of Quenstedt. In the *Formula Concordiæ* our sins are described as forgiven "propter totam obedientiam, quam Christus agendo et patiando, in vita et morte sua, nostra causa Patri suo cœlesti præstitit," II. 3. 15. Passive obedience alone is put forward, Confess. Aug. 4. Apol. p. 190. § 45. p. 202. § 8. Art. Smal. 8. Cat. Min. p. 73. § 4. The references are to Francke's edition, published by Tauchnitz. The moderation of our own Church is here as always apparent. Christ "came to be the Lamb without spot, who by sacrifice of himself once made should take away the sins of the world;" (Article XV) here, his spotless obedience and his sufferings are connected as conditions of his atoning work.

Note 73. p. 137.

"Jesus is the ideal of virtue, such as the human conscience conceives it,—so perfect that all the efforts of the most delicate conscience, the most fertile imagination, and the most expansive charity, cannot add to it the least trait;—that, from circumstance to circumstance through all the Gospel, one continually asks oneself, but in vain, what Christ could possibly have done more, otherwise, or better, than he did;—that, in a word, to figure to oneself Christ more virtuous (may we be pardoned 'the foolishness of our preaching,' according to the words of St. Paul, 1 Cor. i. 21?) is a moral impossibility. But what forms an irresistible demonstration against Dr. Strauss and his deplorable doctrine, is, in our opinion, that Jesus, the ideal of virtue, is a practical ideal. His perfection has nothing of that impossible heroism which the imagination of poets,

and even sometimes the imprudent exaggeration of moralists, attach to the models they exhibit. His perfection has nothing of that of heroes, according to fable, or of angels according to revelation. His virtues are all human, and do not quit the earth, or step out of the just proportions of humanity. He is virtuous, as people may be in a world like ours, in the interval comprised between a cradle and a tomb. He never forgets, in his struggles with the wicked, in the devotedness of his charity, in the most sublime flights of his piety, even in his indignation, he never forgets, that he had not taken the resemblance of angels (Heb. ii. 9), but 'the form of a servant' (Phil. ii. 7), and that he was made 'in all points like as we are, yet without sin' (Heb. ii. 17; iv. 15). Man amongst men, he was Israelite amongst the Israelites, taking part in all the interests of his age and nation, as well as in the worship of his country; mingling with all the agitations of the moment; suffering his heart to beat with the same emotions which swelled all breasts; 'the last Adam,' as St. Paul again says (1 Cor. xv. 45), keeping so close to us all, sons of Adam and his brethren, that he condescends even to weep with mourners at the very moment of a resurrection, as if to authorize and sanctify at the same time our sorrows, our tears, and our hopes. From this complete and continued absence of impossibility in the virtues of Christ, there results to Christianity one advantage, which alone, amongst all the religions of the world, it possesses and will possess; namely, that of having exhibited to the world a model which is the ideal of perfection, but which is not inimitable, which does not leave the sinner, who is invited to follow this perfect model, the pleasing and legitimate excuse 'I cannot.' When contemplating the virtues of Christ, we feel ourselves in the presence of *the ideal*, but at the same time of *the possible*. We admire, we extol, we worship. we seek for some holiness beyond this, but find none. We search in the most sublime conceptions of human genius for some virtue more virtuous, some charity more charitable,—an effort, an appearance, a shade, of devotion more generous, but find none. All is in Christ; and when, after

these ecstasies of admiration, we come back to ourselves, and recall the sanctities of that life into the midst of our own, we are quite surprised to find them on a level; and when having embraced the cross, we by anticipation carry the heroism of that death to that which awaits us, we find it adapted to our end, and placed within our reach, so that we are all obliged to endeavour to descend into our tomb, in the same manner as he ascended his cross. And the ingenious and cold learning of incredulity would fain rob us of this example, as reflection dissipates the prepossessions of a dream of the night. No: poets, in their dreams, and the people, who are poets also, in theirs, may create an ideal, and make it act in the midst of accumulating impossibilities; but a practical ideal is necessarily real. If Jesus were perfect only as the Son of God, incredulity might be in the right; but Jesus has clothed himself with a perfection proportional to our faculties; he is perfectly human, and consequently the Gospels are a history." Athanase Coquerel.

Note 74. p. 141.

Ἀθηναῖοι δ' ὥσπερ περὶ τὰ ἄλλα φιλοξενοῦντες διατελοῦσιν, οὕτως καὶ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς. πολλὰ γὰρ τῶν ξενικῶν ἱερῶν παρέδξαντο, ὥστε καὶ ἐκωμωδήθησαν, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ Θράκια καὶ τὰ Φρύγια. Strabo, X. 472. c.

Note 75. p. 142.

Σύνδεσμος οὖν ἄρα τῆς ἐνότητος ἡμῶν τῆς πρὸς Θεὸν καὶ πατέρα διαφαίνεται ὁ Χριστὸς, ἑαυτοῦ μὲν ἡμᾶς ἐξαρτήσας, ὡς ἄνθρωπος, Θεῷ δὲ ὡς Θεὸς ἐνυπάρχων φυσικῶς τῷ ἰδίῳ γεννήτορι. Cyril. Alex. II. in Joan. p. 102.

Note 76. p. 145.

See Thomas a Kempis, II. 12, III. 19. Deutsche Theologie, chs. 3. and 52. Tauler's Sermon on Good Friday. Arvisenet Memoriale Vitæ Sacerdotalis, cap. xix. Augustine, Medit. I. 6, 7, 8. Anselm, Meditationes X et seqq. (p. 221. ed. Gerberon). Also the excellent practical application in Barrow's Sermon on the Passion. Works, vol. I.

N O T E S.

LECTURE VI.

Note 77. p. 151.

ON the finality of the Creed of Nicæa and Constantinople, or Nicene Creed, see the 7th Canon of the Council of Ephesus. Routh's *Opuscula*, II. p. 8.

Note 78. p. 153.

Arius regarded our Lord as a created being (*κτίσμα καὶ ποίημα*. Athanasius, *Cont. Ari.* I. § 9); but this affects the worth of the price paid for our redemption. Apollinaris denied the completeness of his human nature, by excluding the human will; but this affects his fitness to be our High-priest (Heb. iv. 15; v. 2; x. 19...). The tenet of Nestorius, of a junction (*συνάφεια*) rather of two persons than of two natures is inconsistent with our views of the true reconciliation of God and man (see below, note 97). Eutyches, in confusing the two natures, altered the character of our Mediator and his office of Mediation. (See the Letter of Leo the Great in *Mansi*, v. p. 1359.)

Note 79. p. 153.

Baur, *Gnosis*, p. 36. Compare Dr. Burton's *Bampton Lectures*, and Notes there. Matter, *Histoire du Gnosticisme*. Stieren's ed. of Irenæus, vol. ii. On the controversy as to the origin of Gnosticism see Gieseler, *Church History*, Period I. ch. ii. § 44.

Note 80. p. 155.

... "Verbum potens et homo verus sanguine suo rationabiliter redimens nos, redemptionem semet ipsum dedit pro

his, qui in captivitatem ducti sunt. Et quoniam injuste dominabatur nobis apostasia, et cum natura essemus Dei omnipotentis, alienavit nos contra naturam, suos proprios nos faciens discipulos, potens in omnibus Dei verbum, et non deficiens in sua justitia, juste etiam adversus ipsum conversus est apostasiam, ea quæ sunt sua redimens ab eo non cum vi, quemadmodum ille initio dominabatur nostri, ea quæ non erant sua insatiabiliter rapiens; sed *secundum suadelam*, quemadmodum decebat Deum suadentem, et non vim inferentem, accipere quæ vellet, ut neque quod est justum confringeretur, neque antiqua plasmatio Dei deperiret." Irenæus adv. Hær. V. i. 1.

Note 81. p. 156.

Dorner (Person Christi, p. 479 note) seems to me to establish clearly against Baur (Versöhnung, p. 35), that the *Suadela* is not used towards Satan but towards man. In V. xxi. the position in which Irenæus represents Satan in the transaction of redemption is that of a vanquished foe. And the following words from that chapter seem to suggest, though they do not express, a parallel between the persuasion that drew men astray and that which recalls them to God: "Quoniam enim initio homini suasit transgredi præceptum factoris, et ideo eum habuit in sua potestate . . . per hominem ipsum iterum oportebat victum eum contrario colligari iisdem vinculis, quibus alligavit hominem, ut homo solutus revertatur ad suum Dominum, illa vincula relinquens, per quæ ipse fuerat alligatus, id est transgressionem." By his own will man fell, by his own will and by moral means does the just God redeem him. Dorner's view is strengthened by a reference to the Epistle to Diognetus, ch. vii. God sent his Son into the world, ὡς σώζων ἐπεμψεν, ὡς πείθων οὐ βιαζόμενος, βία γὰρ οὐ πρόεστι τῷ θεῷ. Gallandius Bib. Pat. I. p. 323.

Note 82. p. 157.

Origen, in Joan. T. II. 21. Ibid. T. XXVIII. 14. In Mat. XVI. 8. τίνι δὲ ἔδωκε τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν; οὐ γὰρ δὴ τῷ θεῷ· μή τι οὖν τῷ πονηρῷ; οὗτος γὰρ

ἐκράτει ἡμῶν, ἕως δοθῇ τὸ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτῷ λύτρον, ἢ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ψυχῇ, ἀπατηθῆντι, ὥς δυναμένῳ αὐτῆς κυριεῦσαι, καὶ οὐχ ὀρώντι ὅτι οὐ φέρει τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ κατέχειν αὐτὴν βάσανον· διὸ καὶ θάνατος αὐτοῦ δόξας κεκυριευκέναι, οὐκέτι κυριεύει, γενομένου ἐν νεκροῖς ἐλευθέρου καὶ ἰσχυροτέρου τῆς τοῦ θανάτου ἐξουσίας, καὶ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἰσχυροτέρου, ὥστε καὶ πάντα τοὺς βουλομένους αὐτῷ ἀκολουθεῖν τῶν κρατουμένων ὑπὸ τοῦ θανάτου δύνασθαι ἀκολουθεῖν, οὐδὲν ἰσχύοντος κατ' αὐτῶν ἔτι τοῦ θανάτου. Compare Origen, in Rom. II. 13. (p. 495. ed. Delarue.) Si ergo pretio emti sumus, ut etiam Paulus adstipulatur, nec ab aliquo sine dubio emti sumus cujus eramus servi, qui et pretium poposcit quod voluit, ut de potestate dimitterat quos tenebat. Tenebat autem nos Diabolus, cui distracti fueraimus peccatis nostris. Poposcit ergo pretium nostrum sanguinem Christi.

Note 83. p. 157.

Great caution is required in studying this subject, because on one side there is a temptation to exaggerate the differences of opinion among the Fathers, and to speak of these unscriptural representations as if they affected their whole doctrine, whilst on the other, in order to preserve the *quod semper quod ubique quod ab omnibus*, the fact that differences exist is apt to be veiled and glossed over. See p. 169. on the agreement on the doctrine of Atonement, among Christian writers. Gregory of Nyssa (Orat. Cat. c. 23.) ἀλλὰ μὴν ἀμήχαρον ἦν γυμνῇ προσβλέψαι τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ φαντασίᾳ μὴ σαρκὸς τινα μοῖραν ἐν αὐτῷ θεωρήσαντα, ἣν ἦδη διὰ τῆς ἁμαρτίας κεχείρωτο. Διὰ τοῦτο περικεκάλυπται τῇ σαρκὶ ἡ θεότης, ὥς ἂν πρὸς τὸ σύντροφόν τε καὶ συγγενὲς αὐτῷ βλέπων, μὴ πτοηθεῖν τὸν προσεγγισμὸν τῆς ὑπερεχούσης δυνάμεως, καὶ τὴν ἡρέμα διὰ τῶν θαυμάτων ἐπὶ τὸ μείζον διαλάμπουσιν δύναμιν κατανοήσας, ἐπιθυμητὸν μᾶλλον ἢ φοβερὸν τὸ φαινὲν εἶναι νομίση. (24) ὥς ἂν εὐληπτον γένοιτο τῷ ἐπιζητοῦντι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τὸ ἀντάλλαγμα, τῷ προκαλύμματι τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν ἐνεκρύφθῃ τὸ θεῖον, ἵνα κατὰ τοὺς λίχνους τῶν ἰχθύων τῷ δελέατι τῆς σαρκὸς συναποσπασθῇ τὸ ἄγκιστρον τῆς θεότητος, καὶ οὕτω τῆς ζωῆς τῷ θανάτῳ εἰσοικισθείσης, καὶ τῷ σκότει τοῦ φωτὸς ἐμφανέντος, ἐξαφανισθῇ τῷ φωτὶ καὶ τῇ ζωῇ τὸ κατὰ τὸ ἐναντίον νοοῦμενον. (26) ἀπατᾶται γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς τῷ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου

προβλήματι ὁ προαπατήσας τὸν ἄνθρωπον τῷ τῆς ἡδονῆς δελεάσ-
ματι. ὁ δὲ σκόπος τῶν γιγνομένων ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον τὴν παραλ-
λαγὴν ἔχει. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ διαφθορᾷ τῆς φύσεως τὴν ἀπάτην
ἐνήργησεν· ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἅμα καὶ ἀγαθὸς καὶ σοφὸς ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ
τοῦ καταφθαρέντος τῇ ἐπινοίᾳ τῆς ἀπάτης ἐχρήσατο, οὐ μόνον
τὸν ἀπολωλότα διὰ τούτων εὐεργετῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν ἀπό-
λειαν καθ' ἡμῶν ἐνεργήσαντα. Augustine (de Lib. Arbit. III.
31) Dei filius diabolum, quem semper sub legibus suis ha-
buit et habebit, homine indutus etiam homini subjugavit,
nihil ei extorquens violento dominatu, sed superans eum
lege justitiæ: ut . . . quoniam femina decepta et dejecto
per feminam viro, omnem prolem primi hominis tanquam
peccatricem legibus mortis, malitiosa quidem nocendi cupi-
ditate, sed tamen jure æquissimo vindicabat . . . tamdiu
potestas ejus valeret, donec interficeret justum, in quo
nihil dignum morte posset ostendere; non solum quia sine
crimine occisus est, sed etiam quia sine libidine natus, cui
subjugaverat ille quos ceperat, ut quidquid inde nasceretur,
tanquam suæ arboris fructus, prava quidem habendi cupi-
ditate, sed tamen non iniquo possidendi jure retineret.
Justissime igitur dimittere cogitur credentes in eum quem
injustissime occidit." Compare *de Trin.* XIII. 10—15.
Ambrose (in Luc. L. IV.) Oportuit hanc fraudem diabolo
fieri, ut susciperet corpus Dominus Jesus, et corpus hoc
corruptile, corpus infirmum, ut crucifigeretur ex infirmi-
tate. Leo the Great (Serm. XXII. 4) Illusa est securi
hostis astutia. Gregory of Nazianzus^a (Orat. XXXIX.)
Ἐπειδὴ ᾤετο ἀήττητος εἶναι τῆς κακίας ὁ σοφιστὴς, θεότητος
ἐλπιδι δελεάσας ἡμᾶς, σαρκὸς προβλήματι δελεάζεται· ἵν' ὡς
τῷ Ἀδὰμ προσβαλὼν τῷ θεῷ περιπέσῃ, καὶ οὕτως ὁ νέος Ἀδὰμ
τὸν παλαιὸν ἀνασώσῃται, καὶ λυθῇ τὸ κατάκριμα τῆς σαρκὸς,
σαρκὶ τοῦ θανάτου θανατωθέντος. Ruffinus (Expos. 21): Nam
sacramentum illud susceptæ carnis hanc habet causam, ut
divina Filii Dei virtus velut hamus quidam habitu humanæ
carnis obtectus . . . principem mundi invitare possit ad ago-
nem: cui ipse carnem suam velut escam tradidit, ut hamo
eum divinitatis intrinsecus teneret insertum et effusione

^a Often written Nazianzum by theologians; but in Suidas καὶ Ναζι-
ανζὸς, σταθμὸς Καππαδοκίας. 3396. ed. Gaisford.

immaculati sanguinis, qui peccati maculam nescit, omnium peccata deleret, eorum duntaxat, qui cruore ejus postes fidei suæ significassent. Sicuti ergo hamum esca conseptum si piscis rapiat, non solum escam cum hamo non removet, sed ipse de profundo esca aliis futuras educitur: ita et is, qui habebat mortis imperium, rapuit quidem in mortem corpus Jesu, non sentiens in eo hamum divinitatis inclusum; sed ubi devoravit, hæsit ipse continuo, et disruptis inferni claustris, velut de profundo extractus traditur, ut esca ceteris fiat. Gregory the Great (in *Evang. L. II. Hom. 25*): Per Leviathan (*Job. xl. 19*) . . cetus ille devorator humani generis designatur . . Hunc pater omnipotens hamo cepit, quia ad mortem illius unigenitum Filium incarnatum misit, in quo et caro passibilis videri posset, et divinitas impassibilis videri non posset. Cumque in eo serpens iste per manus persequentium escam corporis momordit, divinitatis illum aculeus perforavit . . In hamo ejus incarnationis captus est . . : ibi quippe inerat humanitas, quæ ad se devorantem duceret; ibi divinitas, quæ perforaret; ibi aperta infirmitas, quæ provocaret; ibi occulta virtus, quæ raptoris faucem transfigeret. In hamo igitur captus est, quia inde interiit unde momordit. Et quos jure tenebat mortales perdidit, quia cum in quo jus non habuit, morte appetere immortalem præsumsit. It cannot be conceded to Ullmann (*Gregorius*, pp. 456, 457) that Gregory Nazianzen is an exception among those who hold that a ransom was paid to Satan, and a deceit practised on him. Relying on one passage in the text of his work (*Orat. XLV. 22*), and another in his note (*Orat. XXXIX. 13*), Ullmann seems to make the two contradictory: all that may be admitted is that the latter passage is more rhetorical, the former more logical, the one a poetical image, the other an attempt to solve a real difficulty. See next note. [Part of Ullmann's work has been presented to English readers from the careful hand of Mr. G. V. Cox, of Oxford; the remainder, the dogmatic portion, exists in MS., and is worthy of the same destiny.] These representations, I must repeat, are to be regarded in their connection with the entire views of each writer. It would

have been better, no doubt, that such bold rhetorical images should not have been used in connexion with this momentous subject; but the use of them ought not to invalidate the testimony of these writers, a testimony which their whole life and intellectual progress utter with crying voice, to the truth that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners. The contradictions into which such statements would lead, if employed soberly as dogmas, appeared on reflection to Gregory Nazianzen (see next note) and to Anselm (see note 86). Even Abelard, whose views of the Atonement were fundamentally erroneous, was right in maintaining that the notion of a ransom to Satan could not stand. *Ego vero dico et ratione irrefragabili probo, quod diabolus in hominem nullum jus habuerit. Neque enim qui eum decipiendo a subjectione domini sui alienavit aliquam potestatem super eum debuit accipere, potius si quam prius haberet, debuit amittere. Abelardi Epitome, c. 23.* Compare Bernard De Erroribus Abelardi, v.

Note 84. p. 159.

"Ἔστι τοίνυν ἐξετάσαι πρᾶγμα καὶ δόγμα, τοῖς μὲν πολλοῖς παρορώμενον, ἐμοὶ δὲ καὶ λίαν ἐξεταζόμενον. τίς γὰρ τὸ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αἷμα, καὶ περὶ τίνος ἐχέθη, τὸ μέγα καὶ περιβόητον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἀρχιερέως καὶ θύματος; κατειχόμεθα μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιηροῦ πεπραμένοι ὑπὸ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν, καὶ ἀντιλαβόντες τῆς κακίας τὴν ἡδονήν. εἰ δὲ τὸ λύτρον οὐκ ἄλλον τινὸς ἢ τοῦ κατέχοντος γίνεται, ζητῶ τίς τοῦτο εἰσηνέχθη, καὶ δι' ἣντινα τὴν αἰτίαν. εἰ μὲν τῷ πονηρῷ, φεῦ τῆς ὕβρεως· εἰ μὴ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν θεὸν αὐτὸν λύτρον ὁ ληστής λαμβάνει, καὶ μισθὸν οὕτως ὑπερφυῇ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τυραννίδος, δι' ὃν καὶ ἡμῶν φείδεσθαι δίκαιον ἦν. εἰ δὲ τῷ Πατρὶ, πρῶτον μὲν πῶς; οὐχ ὑπ' ἐκείνου γὰρ ἐκρατούμεθα. δεύτερον δὲ, τίς ὁ λόγος μονογενοῦς αἷμα τέρπειν Πατέρα, ὃς οὐδὲ τὸν Ἰσαὰκ ἐδέξατο παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς προσφερόμενον, ἀλλ' ἀντηλλάξατο τὴν θυσίαν, κριὸν ἀντιδοὺς τοῦ λογικοῦ θύματος; ἢ δῆλον ὅτι λαμβάνει μὲν ὁ Πατήρ, οὐκ αἰτήσας οὐδὲ δεηθείς· ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν οἰκονομίαν καὶ τὸ χρῆναι ἁγιασθῆναι τῷ ἀνθρωπίνῳ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἕν' αὐτὸς ἡμᾶς ἐξέληται, τοῦ τυράννου βία κρατήσας, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν

ἐπαναγάγη διὰ τοῦ Ἰλοῦ μεσιτεύσαντος. Gregory Nazianzen, Orat. XLV. (olim XLII.) vol. I. p. 862. Paris, 1840.

Note 85. p. 161.

“Non tento, Domine, penetrare altitudinem tuam; quia nullatenus comparo illi intellectum meum: sed desidero aliquatenus intelligere veritatem tuam, quam credit et amat cor meum. Neque enim quæro intelligere, ut credam, sed credo ut intelligam.” Anselm (Proslog. I. p. 43. ed. *Gerberon*).

Note 86. p. 165.

Anticipations of the judicial view of the Atonement are found by Seisen in Nicholas of Methone [see Hagenbach, *Dogmengeschichte*], who lived either in the 11th or 12th century, it is uncertain which. His Refutation of Proclus was published 1825 by J. T. Vömel. The treatise of Anselm, with the title *Cur Deus Homo*, has been printed separately at Erlangen in 1834, and may be easily procured in that form. Here some passages are added by way of showing how Anselm expresses the positions in the text. Sicut rectus ordo exigit, ut profunda Christianæ fidei credamus, priusquam ea præsumamus ratione discutere; ita negligentia mihi videtur si, postquam confirmati sumus in fide, non studemus, quod credimus intelligere (I. 2). Obijciunt nobis deridentes simplicitatem nostram infideles, quia Deo facimus injuriam et contumeliam, cum eum asserimus in uterum mulieris descendisse, natum esse de fœmina, lacte et alimentis humanis nutritum crevisse, et ut multa alia taceam, quæ Deo non videntur convenire, lassitudinem famem sitim verbera et inter latrones crucem mortemque subiisse (I. 3). Cum dicimus: redemit nos a peccatis, et ab ira sua, et de inferno, et de potestate diaboli, quem, quia nos non poteramus, ipse pro nobis venit expugnare, et redemit nobis regnum cœlorum; et quia hæc omnia hoc modo fecit, ostendit, quantum nos diligeret; respondent: Si dicitis, quia Deus hæc omnia facere non poterat solo jussu, quem cuncta jubendo creasse dicitis, repugnatis vobismetipsis, quia impotentem illum facitis. Aut si fate-

mini, quia potuit, sed non voluit nisi hoc modo: quomodo sapientem illum ostendere potestis, quem sine ulla ratione tam indecentia velle pati asseritis? Omnia enim hæc, quæ obtenditis, in ejus voluntate consistunt; *ira namque Dei non est aliud quam voluntas puniendi*. . . . Quæcunque timetis aut desideratis, ejus voluntati subjacent, cui nihil resistere potest (I. 6). Sed et illud, quod dicere solemus, Deum scilicet debuisse prius per justitiam contra diabolum agere, ut liberaret hominem, quam per fortitudinem, ut cum diabolo eum, in quo nulla mortis erat causa, et qui Deus erat, occideret, juste potestatem, quam super peccatores habebat, amitteret, alioquin injustam violentiam fecisset illi, quoniam juste possidebat hominem, quem non ipse violenter attraxerat, sed idem homo se sponte ad illum contulerat: non video, quam vim habebat. Nam si diabolus aut homo suus esset aut alterius, quam Dei, aut in alia, quam in Dei potestate maneret, forsitan hoc recte diceretur; cum autem diabolus aut homo non sit nisi Dei, et extra potestatem Dei neuter consistat: quam causam debuit Deus agere cum suo, de suo, in suo, nisi ut servum suum puniret, qui suo conservo communem dominum deserere et ad se persuasisset transire, ac traditor fugitivum, fur furem cum furto domini sui suscepisset? Uterque namque fur erat, cum alter altero persuadente seipsum domino suo furabatur (I. 7). Divinam enim naturam absque dubio asserimus impassibilem, nec ullatenus posse a sua celsitudine humiliari, nec in eo, quod vult facere, laborare. Sed Dominum Jesum Christum dicimus Deum verum et verum hominem, unam personam in duabus naturis, et duas naturas in una persona. Quapropter cum dicimus Deum aliquid humile aut infirmum pati, non hoc intelligimus secundum sublimitatem impassibilis naturæ, sed secundum infirmitatem humanæ substantiæ, quam gerebat; et sic nostræ fidei nulla ratio obviare cognoscitur. Sic enim nullam divinæ substantiæ significamus humilitatem, sed unam Dei et hominis monstramus esse personam. Non ergo in incarnatione Dei humilitas ejus ulla intelligitur facta; sed natura hominis creditur exaltata (I. 8). [Sed] si aliter peccatores non potuit salvare, quam justum damnando, ubi est ejus

omnipotentia? Si vero potuit, sed noluit: quomodo defendemus sapientiam ejus atque justitiam (I. 8). Omnis voluntas rationalis creaturæ subjecta debet esse voluntati Dei... Hunc honorem debitum, qui Deo non reddit, aufert Deo, quod suum est, et Deum exhonorat; et hoc est peccare. Quamdiu autem non solvit quod rapuit, manet in culpa; nec sufficit solummodo reddere quod ablatum est, sed pro contumelia illata plus debet reddere quam abstulit (I. 11). Nihil minus tolerandum est in rerum ordine, quam ut creatura creatori debitum honorem auferat et non solvat quod aufert (I. 13). Si Deo nihil majus aut melius: nihil justius, quam honorem illius servare in rerum dispositione summa justitia, quæ non est aliud quam ipse Deus (I. 13.) Deum impossibile est honorem suum perdere; aut enim peccator sponte solvit, quod debet, aut Deus ab invito accipit (I. 14). Dei honori nequit aliquid, quantum ad illum pertinet, addi vel minui. Verum cum unaquæque creatura suum et quasi sibi præceptum ordinem sive naturaliter sive rationaliter servat: Deum honorat, non quod illi aliquid affert, sed quod sponte se ejus dispositioni subdit et in rerum universitate ordinem suum et ejusdem universitatis pulchritudinem, quantum in ipsa est, servat. Cum vero non vult quod Deus, Deum, quantum ad illum pertinet, inhonorat, et universitatis ordinem et pulchritudinem, quantum in se est, perturbat (I. 15). Dic ergo, quod solves Deo pro peccato tuo? Cor contritum et humiliatum, abstinentias et multimodos labores corporis, misericordiam dandi et remittendi, et obedientiam. Quid in his omnibus das Deo? Cum reddis aliquid, quod debes Deo, etiamsi non peccasti, non debes hoc computare pro debito, quod debes pro peccato. Totum quod es, quod habes et quod potes, debes. Quid ergo solves Deo pro peccato? Quid ergo erit de te? (I. 20). Ponamus omnia illa, te non debere, et videamus, utrum possint sufficere ad satisfactionem unius tam parvi peccati, sicut est unus adspectus contra voluntatem Dei? Si videres te in conspectu Dei, et aliquis tibi diceret: adspice illuc! et Deus econtra: nullatenus volo ut adspicias: quære tu ipse in corde tuo, quid sit in omnibus, quæ sunt, per quod deberes contra voluntatem Dei illum

adspectum facere? Sic graviter peccamus, quotiescunque scienter aliquid quantumlibet parvum contra voluntatem Dei facimus, quia semper sumus in conspectu ejus, et semper ipse præcipit nobis, ne peccemus. Secundum quantitatem peccati exigit Deus satisfactionem. Non ergo satisfacis, si non reddis aliquid majus, quam sit id, per quod peccatum facere non debueras (I. 21). Si nihil pretiosius agnoscitur Deus fecisse quam rationalem naturam ad gaudendum de se: valde alienum est ab eo, ut ullam rationalem naturam penitus perire sinat (II. 4). Necesse est, ut bonitas Dei propter immutabilitatem suam perficiat de homine, quod incepit, quamvis totum sit gratia bonum quod facit (II. 5). Hoc autem fieri nequit, nisi sit qui solvat Deo pro peccato hominis aliquid majus, quam omne quod præter Deum est. Illum quoque qui de suo poterit Deo dare aliquid quod superet omne, quod sub Deo est, majorem necesse est esse, quam omne, quod non est Deus. Nihil autem est super omne, quod Deus non est, nisi Deus. Non ergo potest hanc satisfactionem facere nisi Deus. Sed nec facere illam debet nisi homo, alioquin non satisfacit homo. Si ergo necesse est ut de hominibus perficiatur superna civitas, nec hoc esse valet, nisi fiat prædicta satisfactio, quam non potest facere nisi Deus, nec debet nisi homo: necesse est, ut eam faciat Deus homo (II. 6). Si dicimus, quod dabit seipsum ad obediendum Deo: non erit hoc dare, quod Deus ab illo non exigit ex debito, omnis enim rationalis creatura debet hanc obedientiam Deo. Alio itaque modo oportet, ut det seipsum aut aliquod de se. Videamus, si forte sit tradere se ipsum morti ad honorem Dei? Hoc enim ex debito Deus non exiget ab illo. Video hominem illum plane quem quærimus, talem esse oportere, qui nec ex necessitate moriatur, quoniam erit omnipotens, nec ex debito, quia nunquam peccator erit, et mori possit ex libera voluntate (II. 11). Vita ista tantum amabilis, quantum est bona. Unde sequitur, quia vita hæc plus est amabilis, quam sint peccata odibilia. Putasne tantum bonum tam amabile posse sufficere ad solvendum quod debetur pro peccatis totius mundi? Immo potest plus in infinitum (II. 14). Eum autem qui tantum bonum sponte dat Deo,

sine retributione debere esse non judicabis. Qui retribuit alicui. aut dat quod ille non habet, aut dimittit, quod ab illo potest exigi. Prius autem quam tantam rem Filius faceret, omnia, quæ Patris erant, sua erant, nec unquam debuit, quod illi dimitti possit. Si tanta et tam debita merces nec illi nec alii redditur, in vanum Filius rem tantam fecisse videbitur. Necesse est ergo ut alicui alii reddatur, quia illi non potest. Si voluerit Filius, quod sibi debetur, alii dare: poteritne Pater jure illum prohibere, aut illi, cui dabit, negare? Quibus convenientius fructum suæ mortis attribuet, quam illis, propter quos salvandos hominem se fecit et quibus moriendo exemplum moriendi propter justitiam dedit? Frustra quippe imitatores ejus erunt, si meriti ejus participes non erunt. Aut quos justius faciet hæredes debiti, quo ipse non eget, quam parentes suos et fratres, quos adspicit tot et tantis debitis obligatos tabescere in profundo miseriarum (II. 19). Misericordiam vero Dei, quæ perire videbatur, cum justitiam Dei et peccatum hominis considerabamus, tam magnam tamque concordem invenimus justitiæ, ut nec major nec justior cogitari possit. Nempe quid misericordius intelligi valet, quam cum peccatori, tormentis æternis damnato et unde se redimat non habenti, Deus Pater dicit: Accipe unigenitum meum et da pro te! Et ipse Filius: Tolle me et redime te! (II. 20).

Note 87. p. 166.

We must beware however of exaggerating this statement, as Baur does in maintaining that the idea of a vicarious satisfaction *by punishment* is altogether strange to the theory of Anselm. It is true that A. distinguishes between satisfaction and punishment (necesse est ut omne peccatum satisfactio aut pœna sequatur I. 15), and makes the former to consist in obedience; but then the obedience in his system is inseparably connected with the sufferings and the death.

Note 88. p. 166.

See the Summa, P. III. Quæst. 48. foll.

Note 89. p. 168.

Baur, p. 183. Neander, Church History, viii. p. 204 (Bohn).

Note 90. p. 169.

See his *de Incarnatione Verbi*, cap. 6 seqq. The resemblance between his views and those of Anselm cannot escape us. God must punish transgressors, for he has promised it; yet his goodness will not allow men to be lost. Christ the Logos was made man in order to offer his human nature a sacrifice for all, and to redeem men from the power of Satan.

Note 91. p. 170.

That the Fathers bring into prominence different attributes of the divine Nature, in connexion with the Atonement, is no proof of a dissonance of opinion. Divine Love is sometimes put forward as the ground of this great transaction, as by Athanasius (*de Incarn.* p. 41), Augustine (*de Civ. Dei*, x. 9), and others. Divine Justice is most conspicuous in it to the eyes of others, from Irenæus to Anselm, in passages cited already. Divine Wisdom is brought out by it, in the words of Gregory Nazianzen (*Or.* 39). Sometimes again the great Power of God is to be admired in the work of redemption, so that it seems even a greater work than that of creating the world (Augustine, *Ep.* 5). But this diversity of statement chiefly shows that the mystery is too great for the eye of the soul to take in at one view; and there was a substantial unity of view, as stated in the text, in all the great Christian writers.

N O T E S.

LECTURE VII.

Note 92. p. 179.

SEE his Summa, P. III. Quæst. 46. fol.

Note 93. p. 179.

Baur (*Lehre von der Versöhnung*, p. 15) divides the history of the doctrine of the Atonement into three periods; the first, to the Reformation, in which the objective tendency prevailed, and was realised in the "Theory of Satisfaction" by Anselm; the second, from the Reformation to the philosophy of Kant, marked by a growing subjective tendency; and the third, from Kant to the present day, is marked according to his view by the recall of the subjective to the objective tendency. For Baur's view of the tendency of the Reformation, see the same work, p. 285. fol.

Note 94. p. 179.

See Luther's Table Talk, ch. 30.

Note 95. p. 182.

In holy Scripture the reconciliation between God and man appears as proceeding from the love of God (Rom. viii. 32; 1 John iv. 9), and as a change in man's position towards God (2 Cor. v. 18—20). But as the sinner is under God's wrath (Eph. ii. 3), which is removed by the Atonement (Rom. v. 9; 1 Thess. i. 10), the relation of God to man alters likewise. How is it that we, the same sinners, are the objects of God's constant love, as it shows itself in the plan of redemption, and of his wrath and indignation

because of our disobedience? This two-fold view of God's mind towards us is one result of the great paradox to finite apprehensions, the existence of evil in a world divinely ruled.

Note 96. p. 185.

As Christ was anointed with the Holy Ghost (Acts x. 38.) and bears the name of "Anointed," early writers inquired what were the offices to which such an inauguration belonged. Ambrose and others thought that the "Anointed" was a King and Priest; Clement of Alexandria and others believed that the unction constituted him a Prophet. Eusebius appears to have been the first to combine these offices, and to regard the work of the Mediator under the three offices of Prophet, Priest, and King. This division "may have been originally derived by the Christians from the Jews. For the Rabbins and Cabalists ascribe to the Messiah a threefold dignity, viz. the crown of the law, of the priesthood, and of the kingdom. (See Schöttgen, Messiah, 107. 298.) But among Christians it was never the general rule of faith, but only employed as a figurative mode of representing the doctrine. Anciently it was most common in the Greek Church. Chrysostom, Theodoret and others, show traces of it. It was therefore seen in the Confession of Faith of the modern Greek Church in the 17th century, and it is still common in the Russian Church. Anciently in the Latin Church it was sometimes, though seldom used. But the schoolmen never used it in their sacramental instructions; for which reason the theologians of the Romish Church in after-times used it but seldom, although Bellarmine and others do not discard it. For the same reason, Luther and Melancthon, and other early Lutheran theologians who separated from the Romish Church, do not make use of this method in treating of the doctrine of the mediatorial work of Christ. But after the 17th century, it was gradually introduced into the systems. It appears to have been first introduced by John Gerhard in his "*Loci theologici*;" at least it was not found in Chemnitz. It was afterwards employed in popular religious instruction, and was admitted by Spener into his

Catechism ; until at last it became universal to treat of the doctrine respecting the mediatorial work of Christ according to this division and under these heads. In the Reformed Church it was adopted by Calvin, who was followed by many others. It is also adopted by many Arminian and Socinian writers." Knapp, Lectures, § 107.

Note 97. p. 185.

The Nicene Creed connects the Incarnation, as well as the other acts of Christ, with the reconciliation between God and man. Τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν κατελθόντα, καὶ σαρκωθέντα, καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντα· παθόντα, καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τριτῇ ἡμέρᾳ· ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐράνους· καὶ πάλιν ἐρχόμενον κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς. It behoved Christ in all things to be made like unto his brethren (Heb. ii. 17,) that we might have a high Priest who is touched with the feeling of our infirmities, and who was in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin (Heb. iv. 15.) The Son of man came to seek and to save that which was lost, (Luke xix. 10) and for that purpose he, the Word, was made flesh and dwelt among us. . . . full of grace and truth (John i. 14) and "the bread of God is he which cometh down from heaven, and giveth life unto the world" (John vi. 33. 35. 48. 50, 51. 58; x. 10). And thus we know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that though he was rich, yet for our sakes he became poor, that we through his poverty might be rich, (II Cor. viii. 9) and might have the same humility of mind as he had (Phil. ii. 4, 5.) Thus is the Incarnation represented in Scripture as part of the work of redemption, whilst yet the death of our blessed Lord is connected with it more frequently and emphatically.

With early Christian writers, Christ is especially the Mediator, the intermediate Person who from His position can reconcile man to God, having relationship to both. So Irenæus, III. 19. The man to whom the Divine Word was united could alone perform the perfect obedience and exhibit the perfect righteousness, required to redeem man from the power of the devil. Irenæus says again: Ἐν τοῖς

πρόσθεν χρόνοις ἐλέγετο μὲν κατ' εἰκόνα Θεοῦ γεγονέναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον, οὐκ ἐδείκνυτο δέ. ἔτι γὰρ ἀόρατος ἦν ὁ Λόγος, οὗ κατ' εἰκόνα ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐγεγόνει. διὰ τοῦτο δὴ καὶ τὴν ὁμοίωσιν ῥαδίως ἀπέβαλεν, ὅποτε δὲ σὰρξ ἐγένετο ὁ Λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὰ ἀμφότερα ἐπεκύρωσε· καὶ γὰρ τὴν εἰκόνα ἔδειξεν ἀληθῶς, αὐτὸς τοῦτο γενόμενος, ὕπερ ἦν ἡ εἰκὼν αὐτοῦ. καὶ τὴν ὁμοίωσιν βεβαίως κατέστησε, συνεξομοιώσας τὸν ἄνθρωπον τῷ ἀοράτῳ Πατρί. (Cont. Hær. V. 16.) Profound and noble words. He considers that Christ passed through all the stages of human life, in order to connect them all with himself—"quamobrem per omnem venit ætatem, omnibus restituens eam, quæ est ad Deum, communionem. (III. 20.) As according to this great writer, the divinity of Christ made possible his perfect humanity, so did the latter make his redeeming work possible; hence his strong protest against the Gnostic Docetism, which denied the reality of the life and the death of Jesus. With Tertullian again, the Mediator, *μεσίτης*, is called *sequester*. "Hic sequester Dei atque hominum appellatus, ex utriusque partis deposito commisso sibi, carnis quoque depositum servat in semetipso, arrabonem summæ totius." (de Res. Carnis, 51. see Cont. Prax. 27.) Here the union in Christ of the divine and human natures is the ground of salvation. Clement of Alexandria, (Admon. 6 seq.) 'Ο λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ ἄνθρωπος γενόμενος, ἵνα δὴ καὶ σὺ παρὰ ἄνθρωπον μάθῃς, πῇ ποτ' ἄρα ἄνθρωπος γένηται θεός. Origen says that with Christ began the union of the divine and human natures, (*ἤρξατο συννυφαινεσθαι*) which was to be extended from him to all who with faith embraced the life which he taught: (Cont. Cels. III. 28. end.) Thus Athanasius—αὐτὸς ἐνηνθρώπησεν ἵνα ἡμεῖς θεοποιηθῶμεν. (de Incarn. 54.) The same thought occurs often in Athanasius, *ex. gr.* Or. c. Ar. I. 39. Compare II. 68. and de Incarn. 44. 'Η ἐν τῷ θανάτῳ φθορὰ κατὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἔτι χώραν ἔχει, διὰ τὸν ἐνοικήσαντα λόγον ἐν τούτοις διὰ τοῦ ἐνὸς σώματος. (Ibid. 9. See also his Orat. c. Arian. II. 69.) Basil the Great insists that Christ is by his nature, because the true and perfect divine natures are really his, the Mediator between God and man (Cont. Eunom. lib. IV.) So Gregory Nyssen, (Or. Catech. 16.) and

Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. 36). Chrysostom says that a Mediator must have something in common with each of the parties he would reconcile; therefore is Christ become man. (Hom. VII. in 1 Tim.) And again μέσον ἑαυτὸν ἐμβαλὼν ὁ Χριστὸς ἑκάτεραν φύσιν εἰς φιλίαν συνήγαγε. Augustine says that the Son—"demonstravit carnalibus et non valentibus intueri mente veritatem corporeisque sensibus deditis, quam excelsum locum inter creaturas habeat humana natura, quod non solum visibiliter, sed hominibus in vero homine apparuit, ipsa enim natura suscipienda erat, quæ liberanda." (de Ver. Rel. c. 30.) On the union of all human nature with Christ, as the condition of its union with the Father, many places are collected by Dorner (p. 958), others are found in Petavius. See also Mansi, Coll. Conc. 4. 1186. Not to multiply passages, it may be remarked, i. that as the early Fathers did not enter very fully into the *manner* by which salvation was wrought, but dwelt upon the fact, they naturally connected it with the Incarnation, as the first step and condition of all that Jesus did and suffered. ii. that they treat the Incarnation, for the most part very explicitly, as the cause of the restoration of a lost relation between God and the human race. iii. that they are agreed that the Redeemer of the human race must be one in whom God and man become one. For further data consult the works of the Fathers: also Petavius. (Theol. Dogm. vol. IV. B. ii. chs. 4 foll.) Ritter (Geschichte d. Christ. Phil. vols. I. II. III.) Dorner (Person Christi.) Baur (Versöhnung, pp. 23—118.) Marheineke (Dogmengeschichte Part II. § 3.)

Note 98. p. 187.

That freedom of action does not require that actions should be *indifferent*, with an equilibrium of the motives for and against them; that it is consistent with the existence of determining motives ("*astra inclinant, non necessitant*,") is maintained by Leibniz, Théodicée I. 34 foll. Where determining motives are strong and numerous, there may be practical compulsion, though formally the action is free. Not inconsistently with his low view of the

work of Christ, De Wette (see Note 57.) seeks for motives that determined the death of Christ in surrounding circumstances, thus depriving it of its perfectly free character.

Note 99. p. 188.

By Augustine. That all which is not of faith is sin, is a position discussed by this Father. Cont. Jul. Pel. IV. ch. III. § 16 foll.

Note 100. p. 190.

“In eo vera summa Dei bonitas et clementia maximis laudibus et gratiarum actionibus prædicanda est, qui humanæ imbecillitati hoc condonavit, ut unus ponet pro altero satisfacere.” Catechismus Roman. II. v. 61.

Note 101. p. 192.

“For as by one man’s disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous.” Rom. v. 19. (Here οἱ πολλοὶ = πάντες; as appears by comparing Rom. v. 15. with v. 12: so רַבִּים in Isa. liii. 12.). “Because we thus judge, that if one died for all, then were all dead: and that he died for all, that they which live should not henceforth live unto themselves, but unto him which died for them, and rose again.” 2 Cor. vi. 14, 15. “God was in Christ reconciling *the world* unto himself.” v. 19. “Who gave himself a ransom for all.” 1 Tim. ii. 6. “And he is the propitiation for our sins, and not for our’s only, but also for the sins of the whole world.” 1 John ii. 2.

Note 102. p. 193.

We believe, not merely that Christ our Saviour *died*, but that he died to rise again and overcome death. The death and resurrection are inseparably connected. But St. Paul, in Rom. iv. 25. represents them as distinct, in order to bring out our Lord’s connexion with two states of human nature. “He died that our past sins might be forgiven; he rose again that we should be brought into the condition of the just.” But on comparing Rom. v. 9. 2 Cor. v. 21. 1 Cor. xv. 17. we find that the Resurrection is connected

with our sins, and the Death with our justification, so that no separation of the two can be intended in this place, only an exhibition of two sides of one single fact.

Note 103. p. 196.

Socinian view of the Atonement. “Quæ causa erat, eadem afflictiones et mortem Servatori perferendi, quibus credentes sunt obnoxii? Duæ extitere causæ, quemadmodum duplici ratione Christus suos servat. Primum enim exemplo suo, est in salutis via, quam sunt ingressi, persistent, suos movet. Deinde iisdem in omni tentationum, et periculorum certamine adest. Verum qua ratione Christus suo ipsius exemplo credentes ad persistendum in illa singulari pietate, sine qua servari nequeunt, movere potuisset, nisi atrocem mortem, quæ pietatem facile comitari solet, gustasset? Aut qui curam suorum in tentationibus et periculis tantam gerere potuisset, nisi, quantopere graves et naturæ humanæ per se intolerabiles essent, ipse expertus esset. Morte et resurrectione Christi certi sumus facti de nostra resurrectione ad eum modum, quod in exemplo Christi propositum id nobis spectemus, eos qui Deo obtemperant, e quovis mortis genere liberari. Deinde, quod jam nobis constet, Christum eum consecutum esse potestatem, qua possit suis i.e. qui ipsi parent, vitam æternam donare. Cur vero ita crebro omnia hæc morti Christi adscribit Scriptura? Propterea quod mors via ad resurrectionem et exaltationem Christi fuerit. Deinde quod ex omnibus, quæ Deus et Christus nostræ salutis causa fecerunt, mors Christi potissimum nobis Dei et Christi charitatem ante oculos ponat. Nonne est etiam aliqua alia mortis Christi causa nulla prorsus. Etsi nunc vulgo Christiani sentiunt, Christum morte sua nobis salutem meruisse, et pro peccatis nostris satisfecisse, quæ sententia fallax est et admodum perniciosa. Scripturæ repugnat ad eum modum, quod scripturæ passim Deum peccata gratuito remittere testentur. Rationi repugnat, quod sequeretur, Christum æternam mortem subiisse, si Deo pro peccatis satisfecisset, cum constet, pœnam, quam homines peccato meruerant, æternam mortem esse. Perniciosa est

ad eum modum, quod hominibus fenestram ad peccandi licentiam aperiatur, aut certe ad socordiam in pietate colenda eos invitet." Catechism. Racov. Qus. 380—393. The literature of the Socinian controversy in this country is very copious; enough here to refer to the work of Whitby (de vera Christi deitate, &c., Oxon. 1691), Veysie's Bampton Lectures (see note 1), and Horsley's Tracts against Priestley. The works of Bull and Waterland will always remain as bulwarks of the faith in the blessed Trinity.

Note 104. p. 197.

See Wegscheider, Instit. Theol. § 140—142.

Note 105. p. 200.

This is the system of Schleiermacher. See his *Glaubenslehre*, vol. I. § 36 foll. vol. II. § 93 foll. A popular account of this writer is found in the *British Quarterly Review*, vol. IX. p. 323. Such a system, as might be expected, has been assailed from every side. Strauss in his *Leben Jesu* and *Dogmatik* proclaims that it does not meet the objections of scepticism; whilst those who accept the holy Scriptures complain that the author has abandoned historical Christianity, although he himself would indignantly repudiate such a charge. See Amand-Saintes, *Rationalisme en Allemagne* (ch. xv), and Staudenmaier (*Idee*, p. 773 foll.) The position of any German theologian can be best appreciated by a glance at his predecessors and contemporaries. In English, besides many review-articles, we have *German Protestantism* by the Rev. H. J. Rose, which cannot be called satisfactory in point of information. Although Mr. Rose published the second edition of his work in 1829, about nineteen years after Schleiermacher was made Professor of Theology at Berlin, and (I think) nine after the publication of his "Account of the Christian Faith," (i. e. the first edition of the *Glaubenslehre*,) he omits that author's name from his list of German theologians, at the end of that edition, though he finds room for such names as Dinter, Kaiser, and Zerrenner. Dr. Pusey's tract on the *Theology of Germany* will be read with more satisfaction.

A more recent work on the same subject by Mr. E. H. Dewar, 1844, I have not seen. On German Philosophy, see Sir W. Hamilton's *Discussions*. "In his views concerning the work of Christ, Schleiermacher leans towards that aspect of it which partakes most largely of the character of mysticism. Here all is resolved into the mystical union of Christ with his members. The Redeemer draws the soul of the believer to himself, receives his life into his own, and communicates his own life to him. In the Church of Christ, we have visible proof that the Lord 'is not dead, but risen.' In his members, his earthly life is yet perpetuated. The Christ of the true believer is a Christ within him. Only through union with Christ can we appropriate the blessings he came to bestow. Schleiermacher is averse to that isolation of the sufferings and death of Christ which would centre in them alone the work of our salvation. The whole life of the Redeemer was a redeeming act. His death was the necessary consummation of a complete obedience. The peculiar constitution of his nature rendered it unavoidable; it perfected the manifestation of his oneness with God. The entireness of that self-surrender on our behalf which could become obedient even unto death, constituted the sufficiency of his sacrifice. That conception of our Lord's mission which regards him merely as a teacher and a pattern, is most repugnant of all to the theology of Schleiermacher. He differs from the orthodox opinion concerning the vicarious satisfaction made by Christ. In his view, Christ is our substitute as the head and representative of his people; God beholds them in him; and in this way, his fulfilment of the Divine will even unto death was an obedience on their behalf. He made satisfaction inasmuch as he brought in an eternal redemption. But this satisfaction was not a substitution. The death of Christ was vicarious, inasmuch as suffering could be endured by the sinless only when he stood in the place of the sinful. But this substitution was not a satisfaction. Schleiermacher inverts the theological formula; for vicarious satisfaction, he would employ the terms satisfactory substitution." *British Quarterly Review*, vol. IX. p. 333.

Note 106. p. 202.

Hegel, *Philosophie der Religion*. The objections to the theory are found in Staudenmaier (*Encyclopædia of Theol.* I. p. 673).

Note 107. p. 202.

Andrew Osiander, a presbyter at Nuremberg at the time of the Reformation, took exception to the Lutheran statement that justification is the being *accounted* righteous before God, on the ground that God will not *account* a thing to be what it *is* not. He attributed man's righteousness before God to the indwelling of the divine nature in him; and thus the divine nature in Christ, and not the human, is the means of our reconciliation with God. "Diserte et clare respondeo, quod secundum divinam suam naturam sit nostra justitia et non secundum humanam naturam, quamvis hanc divinam justitiam extra ejus humanam naturam non possumus invenire, consequi aut apprehendere, verum cum ipse per fidem in nobis habitat, tum affert suam justitiam, quæ est ejus divina natura, secum in nos, quæ deinde nobis etiam imputatur, ac si esset nostra propria, immo et donatur nobis, manatque ex ipsius humana natura, tanquam ex capite, etiam in nos, tanquam ipsius membra." This extract from Osiander's principal work, with many others, is found in Baur; the works themselves are rare. The key to his theology lies in the statement that man's righteousness consists in the real righteousness (*justitia essentialis*) of God himself. See Planck, *Prot. Theol.* I. 272. The Romish doctrine is the direct antithesis of the opinion that Christ is the Mediator by his divine nature. Bellarmine asserted that whilst the Mediator is both God and man, his mediation was effected by his human nature only. Gerhard *Loci*. XVII. 2. § 54.

John Piscator distinguished between the obedience of Christ in his life, and the obedience in his death; by the latter alone was he the meritorious cause of our justification. "Quippe ad obedientiam vitæ obligatus fuit Christus jure naturæ sive creationis tanquam verus homo et filius Adæ, quantum ad legem moralem, nec non jure fœderis a

Deo pacti cum posteris Abrahami et Israelis. Ad obedientiam vero mortis nullo jure fuit obligatus, sed jure diverso, nempe voluntariæ sponsonis." (Gerhard Loci. XVII. 2. § 58 seqq.)

Hugo Grotius adopted a view of satisfaction intended to meet the Socinian objections, in his "Defensio fidei Cathol. de Satisfactione Christi," which departs from the truth in proportion as it attempts to level this great mystery with human forms of thought. The end of the death of Christ was political; it was to exhibit a striking example of God's anger against sin, in order to vindicate the sanctity of his laws. At the same time that he thus deters us from sin he also reveals his great love and good-will towards us, in sending his Son to afford this example, instead of punishing us the actual offenders. To the Socinian objection that the notion of *satisfaction* excludes that of *remission*, the one denoting payment and the other forgiveness of what remains unpaid, Grotius answers that Christ indeed made satisfaction, by suffering punishment, but the effect of it is perceived when man by true repentance turns to God. "Non obstat hic ergo satisfactio, quominus sequi posset remissio. Satisfactio enim non jam sustulerat debitum, sed hoc egerat, ut propter ipsum debitum aliquando tolleretur." Not to dwell on other objections to this theory, it does not appear from it that the sacrifice of one who is both God and man was needed to effect our redemption. "Grotius," observes Baur, "as well as Socinus, attached principal importance to the moral impression which the death of Christ is calculated to produce, with this difference only, that Grotius takes this moral principle negatively, Socinus positively; for in the opinion of Grotius, the moral effect of Christ's death consists in the punishment due to sin; according to Socinus in the moral courage which Christ manifested in his death." (Compare Hagenbach.)

Other theories are to be found in historical books on theology. The elaborate work of Baur should be consulted, but with caution, for the later views.

N O T E S.

LECTURE VIII.

Note 108. p. 205.

THE writer first became an ear-witness of this custom, whilst studying the subject of the present work; these opening sentences are but a transcript of his thoughts at the time.

Note 109. p. 206.

Compare note 2. On the relation of faith and reason see Anselm in notes 85 and 86. Qui non crediderit, non experietur, et qui expertus non fuerit, non intelliget. *De Fide Trinitatis*, I. p. 61. [Gerberon.] Nulla itaque auctoritas te terreat, ab his quæ rectæ contemplationis rationalis suasio edocet. Vera enim auctoritas rectæ rationi non obsistit, neque recta ratio veræ auctoritati. Ambo siquidem ex uno fonte, divina videlicet sapientia, manare non dubium est. J. Scotus Erigena, *De Div. Nat.* I. 68. In logicis ratio creat fidem, in theologicis fides creat rationem; fides est lumen animarum: quo quanto magis quis illustratur, tanto magis est perspicax ad inveniendam rationem. Alexander Halensis. Principiorum autem naturaliter notorum cognitio nobis divinitus est indita, cum ipse Deus sit auctor nostræ naturæ. Hæc ergo principia etiam divina sapientia continet. Quicquid igitur principii huiusmodi contrarium est, est divinæ sapientiæ contrarium: non igitur a Deo esse potest. Ea igitur, quæ ex revelatione divina per fidem tenentur, non possunt naturali cognitione esse contraria. Thomas Aquinas.

Note 110. p. 210.

On the question whether the Incarnation of the Son of God was brought about solely on account of the sins of

men see Hagenbach, History of Doctrines, (vol. ii. p. 47. Eng. Trans.) The *felix culpa* is an expression of Richard of St. Victor.

Note 111. p. 213.

Even the Socinians preserved at least so much of the truth. Caput igitur et tanquam fundamentum totius fidei et salutis nostræ in Christi persona est ipsius Jesu Christi resurrectio. Quod vel ex eo manifeste apparet, quod Apostoli, post Jesum Christum in hoc præcipue et potissimum sunt constituti, ut testes essent resurrectionis ejus: quam ipse non ab omnibus conspici nec palam esse voluerat, sicut doctrinam, miracula, mortem et vitæ exemplum: ut fidei nostræ exercendæ locus esset et rebelles Judæi in sua cæcitate, quemadmodum illis futurum sæpe prædixerat, merito perirent. Vix enim fieri posse videtur, ut quis Jesum ex mortuis excitatum aut videat aut credat et ejus verbis fidem non adhibeat et proinde a sceleribus suis ad servandum Deo viventi, immortalitatis spe plenus, totum se non convertat, unde peccatorum veniam et æternam salutem consequatur. F. Socinus, De Christo Servatore, Opera, vol. II. p. 131. See note 105 above. There is a criticism of Schleiermacher's view in Amand-Saintes Histoire du Rationalisme en Allemagne, chs. 14, 15; and another in the British Quarterly Review, vol. IX. p. 336 foll. Those of Strauss have been already referred to.

Note 112. p. 217.

“Filius Dei hominem assumsit et in illo humana perpressus est. Hæc medicina hominum tanta est, quanta non potest cogitari: nam quæ superbia potest sanari, si humilitate Filii Dei non sanatur? quæ avaritia sanari potest, si paupertate Filii Dei non sanatur? quæ iracundia sanari potest, si patientia Filii Dei non sanatur. Quæ impietas sanari potest, si charitate Filii Dei non sanatur? postremo quæ timiditas sanari potest, si resurrectione Domini non sanatur?” Augustine, *De Agone*, 11.

Note 113. p. 223.

Τὸ γὰρ ὁρῶν πρὸς τὸ ὁρώμενον συγγενὲς καὶ ὁμοίον ποιησάμενον. δεῖ ἐπιβάλλειν τῇ θείᾳ. οὐ γὰρ ἂν πώποτε εἶδεν ὁ ὀφθαλ-

μὸς ἥλιον, ἡλιοειδὴς μὴ γεγεννημένος· οὐδὲ τὸ καλὸν ἂν ἴδῃ ψυχὴ, μὴ καλὴ γενομένη. γενέσθω δὴ πρῶτον θεοειδὴς πᾶς, καὶ καλὸς πᾶς, εἰ μέλλει θεάσασθαι θεόν τε καὶ καλόν. Plotinus, Ennead. I. vi. 9.

Note 114. p. 228.

Articles of the Church of England, XXVIII. XXIX. The latter is almost in the words of St. Augustine (Tract. in Jo. Ev. 26). See Bp. Beveridge on Art. XXIX and Dr. Macbride (Lectures on the Articles, 1853) on the same. Differently the Lutherans. “De Sacramento altaris sentimus, panem et vinum in cœna esse *verum* corpus et sanguinem Christi, et non tantum dari et sumi a piis, sed etiam ab impiis Christianis. Artic. Smalcald. VI. (p. 32. Francke) “Quamquam nebulo perditissimus sacramentum aliis ministret aut ipse sumat, tamen nihilominus sacramentum illum sumere, hoc est, Christi corpus et sanguinem, non secus atque is, qui omnium reverentissime et dignissime sumpserit aut tractaverit. Neque enim humana sanctimonia, sed verbo Dei nititur illud. Et quemadmodum nullus sanctorum in terris, adde etiam nullus Angelorum in cœlis panem et vinum in Christi corpus et sanguinem vertere potest: ita quoque nemo aliter facere aut immutare potest, etsi hoc sacramento indignissime abutatur, &c. Catechism. Major. Pars V. 14. (p. 232. Francke.) For the Romanist views, Concil. Trident. Sess. VII. Can. 6 and 7. (p. 39 in Streitwolf and Klener’s ed.)

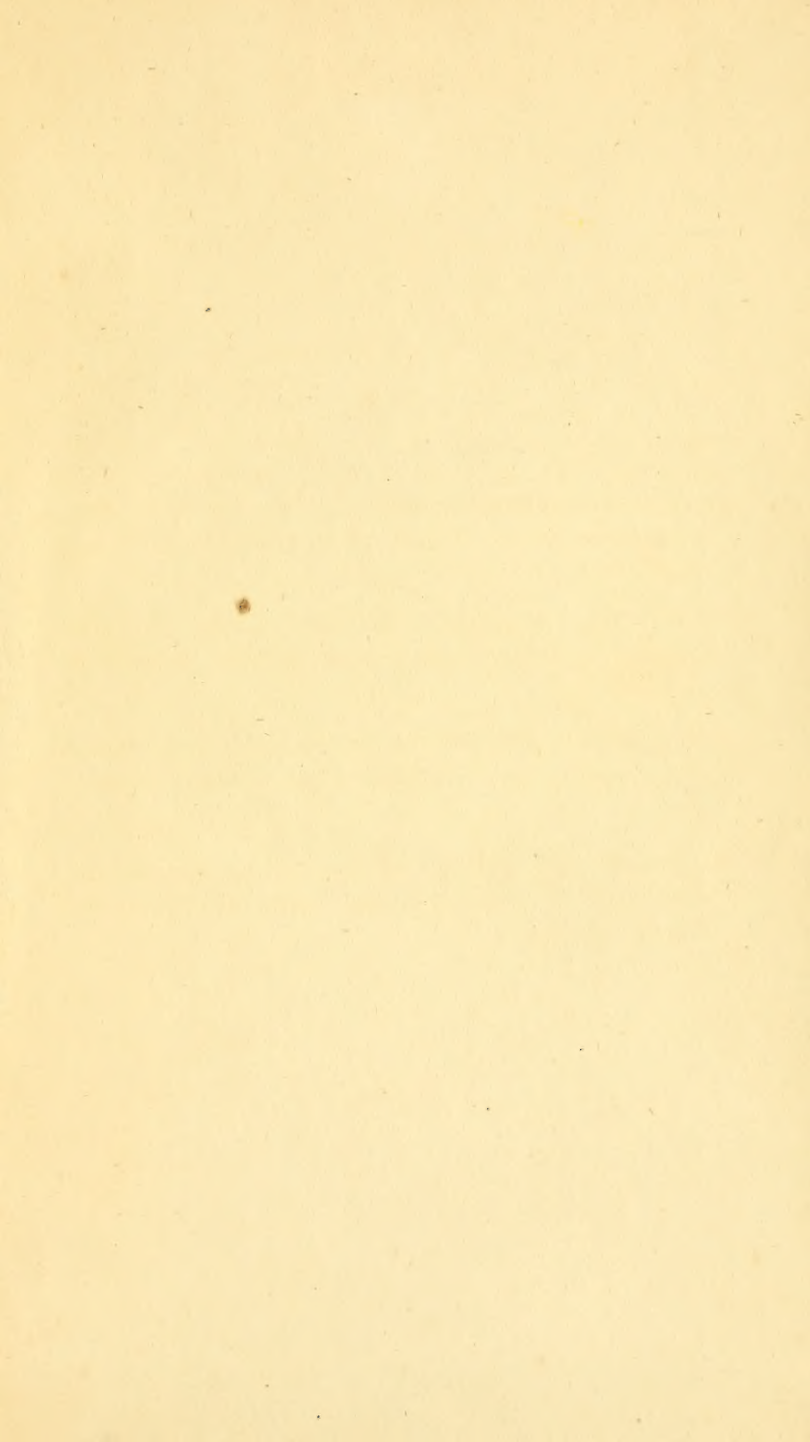
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